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Anal. p. 39.

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SOME RUNIC STONES

IN

N O R T H E R N S W E D E N.

FROM THE PAPERS OF THE LATE

PROF. DR. **CARL SÄVE**

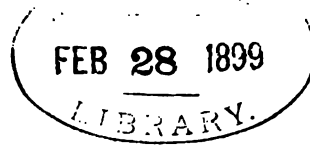
EDITED BY

PROF. DR. **GEORGE STEPHENS,**
F. S. A. LOND. AND EDINB. ETC. ETC.

(PRESENTED TO THE ROYAL SOCIETY OF UPSALA, THE 7 APRIL 1877.)

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Jessy H. Goodland

In the autumn of 1851, chiefly in August and September, my learned and lamented friend Prof. Dr. CARL SÄVE made an antiquarian excursion to examine the so-called Helsing-stones and other forn-laves in Northern Sweden. He took careful but rough copies, and it was always his intention to draw these out fairly and make them public. He had particularly entrusted to me, from time to time, some of his ideas thereon. But alas!, his frequent attacks of illness prevented him from carrying out his plan, and at last he was called away from us, 27 March 1876.

I have therefore thought it my duty, in honor to his memory, to endeavor to make known, in his name, what he has left on this head. I give his own words, where we have any. Otherwise, I have made remarks of my own. Copies taken 25 years ago, when the stones had necessarily suffered less than they have now, must always be most valuable. Also very interesting is the new soundpower, which Prof. SÄVE has given to the rune ¹, namely *H*, instead of *S*, the value formerly given to it. This new identification, whether correct or no, is at least much more so than the older one. The distinguisht Norwegian rune-lorist Prof. Dr. SOPHUS BUGGE has lately examined these stones afresh, and intends publishing his remarks thereon. We shall welcome them. Whether these two great linguists agree or not in every detail, it will be most instructive to have the ideas of each. Science will be advanced by the labors of both.

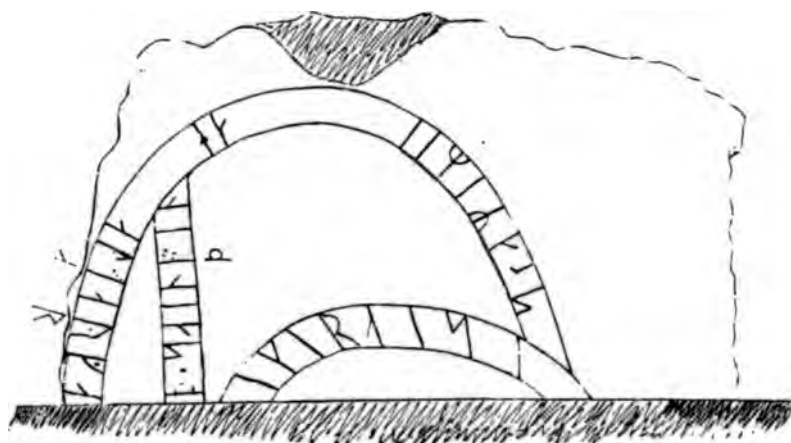
All the Ms. materials relating to this subject which could be found among Prof. SÄVE's papers, now by gift of his brother Dr. P. A. SÄVE the property of the Library in Upsala, have been kindly forwarded to me; but they consist only of a little Note-book, some loose sheets and sketches, and drawings of 3 stones more or less ready for engraving. Whatever could be given in facsimile I now lay before the reader, Photoxylographt by J. F. ROSENSTAND of Cheapinghaven (Kjöbenhavn). The expense of these blocks has been generously borne by the Royal Society of Sciences in Upsala, of which Prof. SÄVE was so distinguisht a member.

Willingly would I add some kind of Preface from SÄVE's own hand. But, as I said, unhappily he has left nothing. All I can do is to give the following characteristic remarks, made by him in a letter to me dated 27 Dec. 1872:

»No one, so far as I know, has minutely handled — or even seen — the peculiar Helsing-rune blocks for the last 150 or 200 years. Probably they have never been examined by others than the first discoverer of the runes Prof. MAGNUS CELSIUS, his son OLOF C. CELSIUS the elder, and perhaps the latter's son OLOF C. CELSIUS the younger. All later treatments of these 5 runic ristings are only copies of what was done by CELSIUS and his family, especially in his great treatise RUNÆ HELSINGICÆ a M. et OL. CELSIO sen. in Nova Acta R. Soc. Scient. Upsal. Vol. I. p. 1, Tab. I—III, on which 4 of the 5 Helsing-stones are engraved on copper. They give a very good idea of them. No runic student has seen them since, save a certain rune-smith called C. S. in Upsala, who in miserable and dim and dripping weather, while standing on a clayey field, redd Lilj. 1065 in September 1851, and the other 3 (the 5th having disappeared) shortly after. I also then found that, in deciphering the staves, a mistake had been made by the first readers as to the value of *one* letter, which of cours has seriously damaged the meaning in several places. But when, 21 years ago, I deciphered and drew the blocks, I had never seen any drawing of them, neither the 2 in CURIO (older than CELSIUS), nor those by CELSIUS or by SJÖBORG (T. III, p. 2, 131, fig. 174 etc.), so that I had only LILJEGREN to guide me»¹⁾.

¹⁾ »Ingen har, så vidt jag vet, granskat eller ens läst dessa besynnerliga inskrifter med Helsing-runor på de sista 150 à 200 åren; ty jag tror att endast den förste upptäckaren af deras läsning Prof. MAGNUS CELSIUS och hans son OLOF C. d. äldre och möjligtvis dennes son OLOF C. d. yngre [har sett dem]. Alla senare behandlingsar af dessa 5 runinskrifter äro blott rena afskrifter af desse Celsiers läsningar och afritningar. Särdeles hufvud-afhandlingen: RUNÆ HELSINGICÆ a M. et OL. CELSIO sen., uti Nova Acta R. Soc. Scient. Upsal. Vol. I, p. 1, Tab. I—III, (på hvilka 4 af de 5 Helsing-stenarne äro graverade i koppar). Ja, ingen forskare har sedan Celsiernes tid sett dem, utom en viss runstens-läsare, C. S. i Uppsala, som, i styggt duggregrn och stående på en lerig åker, läste L. 1065 i Sept. år 1851, och de andra 3 (den 5te är försvunnen) dagarne derefter. Jag upptäckte dervid, att man vid de äldre läsningarna alldeles misstagit sig om betydelsen af en runa, hvilket naturligtvis helt och hållet förvillat läsningen på flere ställen. När jag för 21 år sedan läste och afritade stenarne, kände jag likväl icke till någon afritning af dem, hvarken de 2 i CURIO (äldre än CELSIUS upptäckt) eller CELSIUS, eller SJÖBORGs (T. III, 2, 131, fig. 174 etc.); så att jag blott hade LILJ. till ledning».

ATTMAR, MEDELPAD.



Was then near the church. From SÄVE's pencils sketch, p. 5 in his Note-book. He has written above: »Attmar-byn (»Grafströms i Åffna»), nära kyrkan (huset eges af Abr. Nilsson) d. 1 Aug. 1851».

In a letter to myself, dated 24 Oct., 1875, he says that he had not yet made public this hitherto unknown rune-stone because he had hoped to get a better reading, as most of the staves were in 1851 hidden by a wooden step¹⁾.

The above block was re-found, cleaned and raised by Docent KARL SIDENBLADH²⁾, who states that all he could then make out was:

... IPIIY 1111 ... 1111 ... IF . NI . 117(1)YI11 ... þY1111 þ11

¹⁾ »I samma socken fann jag år 1851 en runsten, som jag aldrig kommit bekantgöra, emedan han då till större delen var betäckt af en trappa, så att af inskriften endast spridda runor kunde läsas, och jag trodde mig framdeles få tillfälle att läsa henne bättre».

²⁾ In 1868. See extracts from Docent SIDENBLADH's Report, in »Antiqvarisk Tidskrift för Sverige» (Stockholm 1869, 8vo), vol. 2, p. 217, 218.

hard to read. At this time nothing could be made out, from the position of the sun¹⁾.

Docent SIDENBLADH (l. c. p. 217) has completed the first word. We may therefore apparently read:

ANUTR_RITI STIN PINA A(f)TI(r) HAKUN, FAPUR (? sin).

ANUND WROTE (*rune-inscribed*) STONE THIS AFTER HAKUN, FATHER (*sin = his*).

But SIDENBLADH says that the close is uncertain, and that LILJEGREN's reading cannot be correct. It is a pity he did not enter into further detail, for LILJEGREN's text is that of the CELSI, otherwise generally trustworthy. At all events he should have told us whether his word »close» was meant to include the name of the deceased, HAKUN.

NORDBY, MEDELPAD.



¹⁾ »Tuna, vid Mälsta by, d. 7 Aug. 1851. Stenen stor och hög, af mycket hvitaktig (kvartsblandad) gråsten, ytan ojemn och smågropig, och inskriften således svårläst, samt kunde nu alls icke läsas i anseende till solens stånd».

SÄVE gives (Note-book p. 7) a small pencil-drawing, with the words: »Njurunda vid Nordby (Nolby) d. 7 Aug. 51. LILJEGREN No. 1072, Bautil No. 1102».

But in 1863 he kindly sent me a new and more careful pen-and-ink drawing, which I here Photoxylograph. We see that in 1851 the 1st, 5th, 6th and 7th letter in the first word, and the 4th in the third, were then doubtful; but we must probably read, with Bautil and LILJEGREN, BARKSUAIN, SIHFASTR (or SIHUASTR, Bautil and LILJEGREN have SIHUASTR; either is good, the sound being nearly the same). SÄVE distinctly remarkt, in his letter to me, that MARKAÐI was *certain*. Thus we get:

BARKSUAIN UK SIH(U)ASTR UK FRIPA RAISTU STAIN PINSA IFTIR
BURI, FAPUR SIN. IN FARPAIHN MARKAÐI.

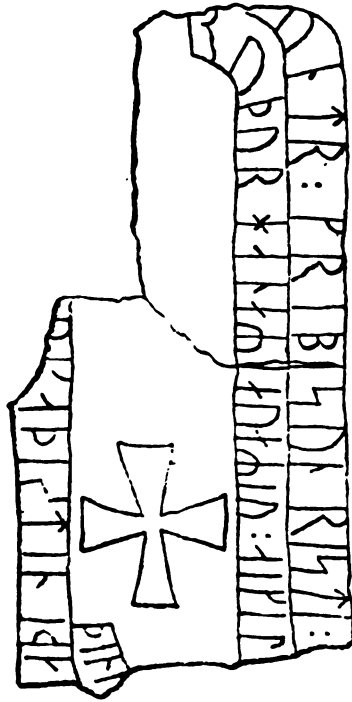
*BARKSUAIN EKE (and) SIH(U)AST EKE FRITHI RAISED STONE
THIS AFTER BUR, FATHER SIN (their). IN (but) FARTHAIHN MARKT
(carved the runes).*

We have here 2 valuable corrections of the reading in Bautil and LILJEGREN. The stone has FAPUR not FAPURI¹⁾, and MARKAÐI not MARKTI. Whether the nom. of BURI was then and there BUR or BURA or what, we do not know.

The woodcut in Bautil had been previously used by E. J. BJÖRNER in *Prodromus Tractatum* (Stockholm 1726, 4to) p. 46.

¹⁾ Docent SIDENBLADH (Ant. Tidskr. f. Sv. II, 217) redd AFTER. BURE's Ms. Runah. no. 550, has AFTIR and FAPURI.

DELSBO, HELSINGLAND.



SÄVE never saw this block, but was in possession of a good drawing, which he communicated to me 17 years ago. This I have had facsimilied for Vol. 3 of my »Old-Northern Runic Monuments», and I here give my text thereto, as it will appear in that work. I introduce it there as bearing the now acknowledged local-dialectic ending -UR in the gen. sing. feminine. This form was first pointed out by CARL SÄVE, supported with fresh examples by myself, denied or explained away or called »quite new» by others; but we now see, by a crowd of instances — my Vol. 3 alone contains 6 *additional* such *in runes* — that it was not unusual and was spread (however exceptionally) over a wide sweep of folkships in Scandinavia. For it was not confined to Sweden. My oldest specimen is Danish, an »overgangs»-stone (bearing Old-Northern as well as Scandinavian runes) from about the first half of the 9th century. The runic examples thus run down from the 9th to the 14th yearhundred. But this form still lives in the folk-talk of the iland of Gotland.

This stone is of course unintelligible in LILJEGREN (No. 1683), whose only authority is the barbarously copied fragment in the »Delsboa Illustrata» of K. N. LENÆUS (Stockholm 1764, 8vo., p. 179). In 1844, however, the Rector of Delsbo, now Bishop, the Rev. L. LANDGREN, found in the churchyard another piece of *the same* slab, and in 1847. forwarded a good drawing of both pieces to Prof. C. SÄVE, who favored me with a facsimile in 1860. I could not then make it out, as little as SÄVE himself. The large lower piece was the one given by LENÆUS; the bit fitting in on the top was the fragment happily recovered by LANDGREN.

I now fancy I have solved the mystery, and give the tracing Heliotyped by PACHT.

I think that the whole will be clear, and that the still missing letters may be reasonably supplied, if we take the RUPUR to be *yet another* instance of a feminine in the genitive with the frequent local archaistic -UR ending.

As, from the bend, we can see that the rune-lines have *not* gone high at the top, only a couple of letters are wanting there. The first word was therefore almost certainly the common mansname ANUNTR. By the peculiar position of PINI on the left below, only a few staves can want at that end. And as the break there is *slanting*, there is about 1 character fewer in the last left line. Thus, say, 4 on the extreme right, 4 (or: and 3) in the inner right line, 2 or 3 (or: and 1 or 2) on the outward left line. The carver began this last left line with letters to be redd from below, as we see in the still left . . API. The phrase HAN KARPI is a standing runic formula, and for KARPI or KIARPI we not unfrequently find KAPI or KIAPI, with the well-known slurring of the R. Still more likely, the verb was FAPI, *FAWED*, *got ready*. But the stone-smith soon found this reading from below inconvenient, and placed the remaining words in the left line so, as to be redd *from the top downwards*, like *all the rest of the inscription*.

I therefore believe that we cannot go very far wrong, if we divide and read:

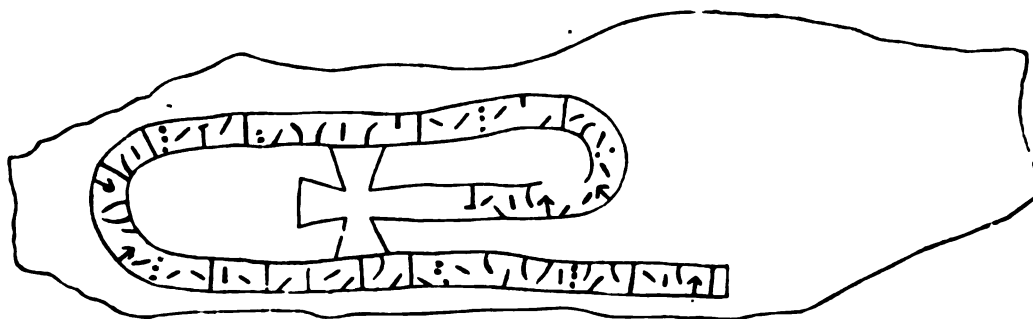
(an)UNTR, KIRIBIS_SUN, RISTI (kuml) RUPUR, HANAR•A UAR-IU.
AIKIL (han f)API (auk maR)KAPI STIN PINI.

ANUNT (= ANUND), KRIBS'S (= GRIP'S SON, RAISED (*these cum-bels*, = *grave-marks*) of-RUTHA, HER ON (at) UAR-EY. AIKIL (= EGIL) (*he faw*)ED (= *prepared*) EKE MARKT (*inscribed*) STONE THIS.

As we have runic instances of both HRUÞR and RUÞR, masc., HRUÞA and RUÞA, fem., — nothing being more common than the dialectic absence or presence of the H, — so RUÞUR is here the same as HRUÞUR, a *womans-name* in the *genitive*, as we all see from the following HANAR = *her*, gen. sing. fem. in *apposition*.

UAR-IU can only be a place-name, added either because her family estate was there, or else to distinguish this RUTHA from some other lady of the same name. The variations of (this word for *EY*, *ile*, *iland*) AU are manifold in our old dialects, especially in the oblique cases. We have runic -IU elsewhere as a dat. sing. Where *this* VAR-EY was I cannot say. An iland so called is in a channel to Bindalsfjord and Folden, in Naumdal, Norway. This, by marriage and removal, *may* have been the spot intended. But there must have been other VAR-EYS; place-names beginning with VAR were common. Perhaps there was a VAR-EY near Delsbo, or in Helsingland, all which country, as we know, swarms with lakes and ilands.

HÖG, HELSINGLAND.



LILJEGREN's No. 1068. SÄVE says (Note-book p. 10) the block was 6 feet 8 inches high. It is here given not after his rough sketch in his Note-book but from a loose pen-and-ink drawing by him, from which he intended to make a fair copy for publication. He has a runic transliteration in his Note-book. On a separate piece of paper he has written out the inscription in Roman characters, thus:

IHUÞNIUTR ÞRUSUN LIT RITA STIN ÞINA AH BRU HIRÞI AFTIR
BRUÞR SINA [ASBIURN] ASBIARN, AH AT HUÞLAF.

He has left no translation, but doubtless understood it as meaning:
*IHUTHNIUT THRUSON LET WRITE (carve) STONE THIS, EKE (and)
 BROW (bridge-this) GARED (made), AFTER (in memory of) BROTHER SIN
 (his) ASBIARN, EKE AT (to) HUTHLAF.*

SÄVE, by som accident, wrote ASBIURN, but both his drawings have ASBIARN. He tells us, on the opposite page (11) of his Note-book, that Hög Church is ancient and of stone, with a wooden vaulted roof in the shape of a star. Outside the principal door, in a small wooden porch, he saw 2 stones formed like breasts, one on each side the door¹⁾. Inside the door was a small wooden cross nailed on the wall. There was an old font of sandstone (the sandstone cover was destroyed), once finely ornamented, the figures on the basin nearly gone, but on the base dragons and lions were still left. There was an old grain-measure, inscribed »PETRVS OLAI. 1681.» He also saw some parchment documents, a thick vellum manuscript, and a book in 4to printed on vellum, unpagged, as well as a manuscript on paper. These seemed to be excellent codices²⁾. — Doubtless these costly things have been long since enquired into and taken care of. Or have any of them perisht?

I cannot help fancying that the first stroke in this Hög inscription was only a flaw or a commencing-mark, and that we must read HUPNIUTR (if the first rune be H), a name I have never seen before, not IHUPNIUTR, which, if it be so, is also found here for the first time.

¹⁾ Perhaps these were the bulb-shaped stones so often found on graves, of the class ably described by Baron O. HERMELIN (»Stenkloten» på Ättehögarne), with many illustrations, in »Svenska Fornminnesföreningens Tidskrift» (Stockholm 1875, 8vo), vol. 2, pp. 164—205. I believe these stones, however altered and conventionalised, were all originally worshipt as Gods or Fetishes, Phallic Symbols, the Linga and the Yoni, Creation and Preservation, placed on the tumulus as triumphant emblems of Light out of Darkness, Life after Death. See H. RIVETT-CARNAC: »Rough Notes on some Ancient Sculpturings on Rocks in Kumaon, similar to those found on Monoliths and Rocks in Europe» (Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, 1877, 8vo), and A. WILDER's edition of WESTROPP and WAKE's »Ancient Symbol Worship. Influence of the Phallic idea in the Religions of Antiquity» (New-York 1875, 8vo).

²⁾ »Högs kyrka, gammal stenkyrka, med trähvalf i stjernform. Utanför hufvuddörren (i ett litet af trä tillbyggt vapenhus) 2 bröstformiga stenar, 1 på hvar sida om dörren. I dörren ett litet träkors fastspikadt i väggen. — En gammal Dopfont af sandsten (locket äfven af sandsten, förstördt), uthuggen i f. d. vackra bilder. De på skålen förstörda, men på foten bibehållna drakar och lejon. En gammal sädesskopa: PETRVS OLAI. 1681. — Äfven fanns der (utom åtskill. permebref) en nog tjock handskrift på skinn, samt en bok i 4to tryckt på skinn, opaginerad, och en d:o på papper, hvilka sågo ut som vackra handskrifter.»

While copying the above for the press, I have received Prof. S. Bugge's valuable paper on the Forsa Ring in Helsingland¹⁾. At p. 37 fol. he touches on the Helsing-runes, and announces his discovery that \downarrow and \downarrow are not S, nor \downarrow H, as OLOF CELSIUS the Elder said, but that \downarrow , \downarrow and \downarrow all 3 stand for K (and G). No H-mark in these runes, he observes, has yet been found.

In this case CARL SÄVE's H must everywhere be altered to K (and G).

Prof. BUGGE adds that \swarrow (ψ) as the sign for K has only once been seen, and that *here*, on this Hög stone; but that this one instance is a mistake, a break in the stone at this spot having misled CELSIUS. This confirms SÄVE's drawing. He has not, like CELSIUS, \swarrow in the word KIRPI (or GIRPI), but \downarrow , thus his HIRPI, BUGGE's KIRPI (or GIRPI).

Prof. BUGGE adds also: »On the Hög stone we must read KUPNIUTR (not ISUPNIUTR or IHUPNIUTR), AK (not AH), KUPLAF (not HUPPLAF), on the Sunnå stone FIKIULFISUN (not FISIULFISUN); and in this same way a number of other errors must be corrected in the earlier readings of the Malstad inscription.»

Prof. BUGGE does not explain *why* we must read KUPNIUTR, instead of IKUPNIUTR, but I suppose he lookt upon the first stroke as a flaw or a beginning-mark.

Probably Prof. SÄVE had communicated to him, as he had to myself, his idea that the sign formerly taken as S ought to be redd as H.

HÖG, HELSINGLAND.

This pillar is No. 1069 in LILJEGREN. I can find no drawing of it in Prof. SÄVE's papers. But in his annotations or Note-book p. 12 is a pencil copy of the runes, and he sent me a revised transcript, adding that the block is 7 feet 6 inches high, 2 feet broad at the large end and 15 inches at the smaller. He made out the runes to be:

¹⁾ »Rune-Indskriften paa Ringen i Forsa Kirke i Nordre Helsingland, udgivet og tolket af SOPHUS BUGGE» in »Christiania Universitets Festskrift ved Upsala Universitets Jubilæum i September 1877» (Christiania 1877, 4to).

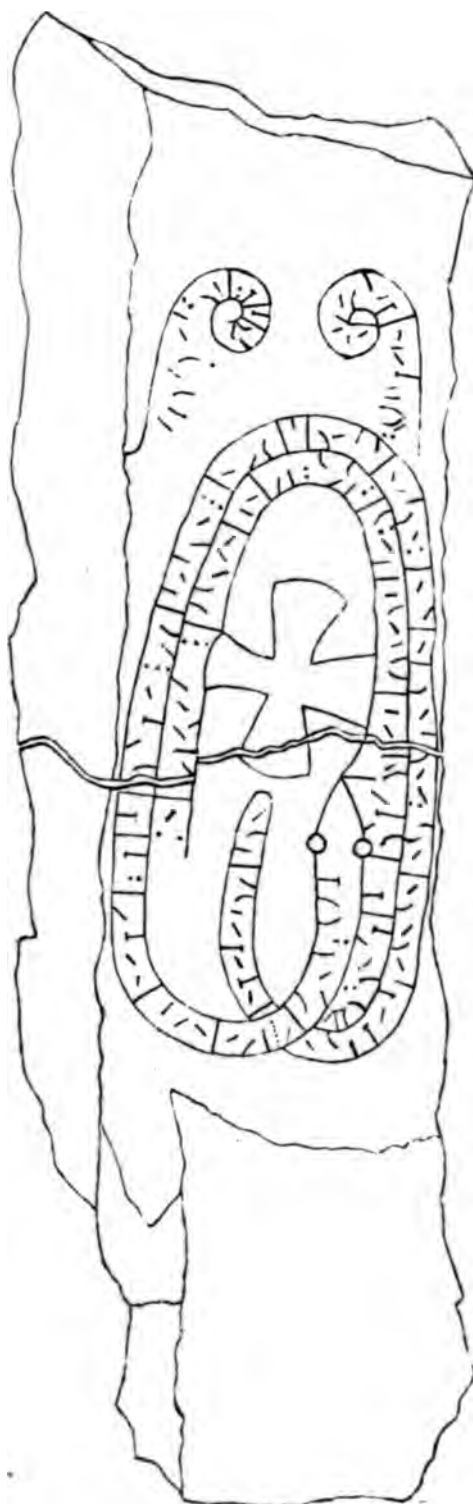
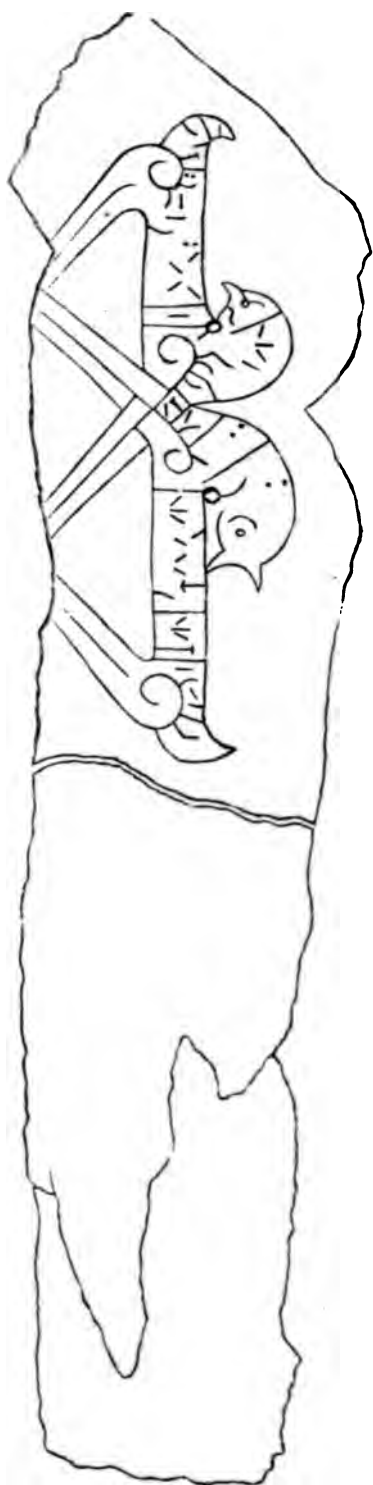
But he remarks that the 1 . . 1ʸ . . ʒ11 are now nearly gone, as well as the 1 1ʸ (the last R in ALUIR AK BRATR), and that the KUP is perhaps (with dotted ʸ) GUP. He gives no transliteration or version, but these will of course be:

KUÐ HIALBI SALU HANS!

UIFOST (= VIFAST) LET HEW STONE THIS AFTER (in memory of)
 UTI, FATHER SIN (his). GOD HELP SOUL HIS!

Observe the 2 types for A and for N; and the ac. pl. RUNA, as so often in *later* listings, thus agreeing with the O. N. Runic examples of this word *without* a consonant ending.

MALSTAD, HELSINGLAND.



My materials here are: SÄVE's first sketch of the runes (in his Note-book p. 13, with a transliteration in common runes, all dated 2 Sept. 1851); drawings of both body and side, pieces not finally copied out for publication; and a careful copy of the side-rising, sent to me in a letter dated 28 Dec. 1872. It is SÄVE's body-drawing and my side-drawing which are here photoxylographed. This block is LILJEGREN's No. 1065. SÄVE says it was 8 feet high.

Besides the above, a separate bit of paper again repeats the common runes. But another scrap has SÄVE's reading written by him in Roman characters, and this I here give. The order in which the staves follow each other is that finally adopted by SÄVE himself, in a letter to me of 27 Dec. 1872:

Outer snake-wind: FRUMUNTR_RIT STAINA PINA_AFTIR FIHIULFA :
BRISA SUN : IN BRISI UAS LINA SUN : IN LINI UAS UNAR SUN IN UN
UAS FAHS_SUN IN FAH_HAÞURIS_SUN

Top right scroll: IN ÞA BARLAF IN ÞA HUÞRUNR :

Side. Left head: IN ÞA NU I

Side. Right head: PRIM BIUM

Side. Right body: IN ÞA LANAHR IN ÞA FIÞR A SIU

Side. Left body: SIULFIR UARÞ UM LANTI ÞISU RI UIHA

Top left scroll: ARUA UAS MUÞIR FIHIULF(?I?A)¹⁾

Inner snake-wind: FRUMUNT FIHIULFA SUN FAÞI RUNAR ÞISAR
UIR SUTUM STIN PINA NUR I : BALASTIN :

SÄVE has added the following pencil-note: »(UIR)SUTUM = Icel. SÓTTUM, we took, fetched, brought. Compare: skatt, er Egill hafði sótt. Eg. Saga, 588.»²⁾

This remark is quite correct. We have a similar slurring of the K in this word, on the Fenne-Foss stone, Norway³⁾, which ends:

¹⁾ SÄVE's first sketch (Note-book p. 16) gives, quite distinctly, FIHIULFI. His large finished drawing, here engraved, has only a small portion of the last I. This must have been a clerical error on SÄVE's part. He evidently intended to draw FIHIULFI.

²⁾ »(UIR) SUTUM = isl. SÓTTUM, vi togo, hentade, jf. skatt», etc.

³⁾ See my paper in *Archæologia*, vol. 43: »On Scandinavian Runic Stones which speak of Knut the Great» (London 1870, 4to) p. 3—8. The fragments taken out of the chimney in 1875 were given to the Museum, Christiania. Prof. OL. RYGH favored me with paper casts, which establish the general accuracy of the old drawing. But for TUÞIR and LIÞNU (with the affix article, which we had not expected on so old a block) the fragments give TUÞR and LIÞI ÞA.

SA UAR TUPR I LIPI, PA IS KNUTR SOTO [or possibly SOTI] IKLOT
 SA (he) WAS DEAD (died or fell) IN the-LITH (fleet, army, armament)
 THEN AS (when) KNUT (= CANUTE) SOUGHT (invaded) ENGLAND.

There is a third example on the Sâstad block, Upland (Dybeck, 8vo, No. 95; folio, II, No. 19): IS SUTI IURSALIR, AS (who) SOUGHT (visited) JERUSALEM.

SÂVE has unhappily left no version, at least as far as I know. Most of the words are plain enough. Some are so much the harder. The order of the lines we shall never know. Probably SÂVE's is as good as any other. We can at once read K instead of H, if we follow Bugge.

With regard to this last question, it seems to me that SÂVE's transliteration is more exact than Bugge's. I know nothing of the reasons which led SÂVE to fix upon H as the value of the mark. Nor can I anticipate the arguments which will be brought forward by Bugge for his K. But in my eyes all these Helsing runes are simply »short-hand», a salient part of the stave being taken to represent the whole. All the other letters show this. Why should the K be an exception? The 1 in \mathfrak{P} is no distinctive mark, and is besides used in these Helsing-runes for itself, the vowel I (I). It is the \mathfrak{P} which gives \mathfrak{P} its character. Should K therefore ever be found among these »short-hand» signs, it will probably be as \mathfrak{P} or something like it. But to say that \downarrow and \downarrow and \perp . (3 variations, the one a little simpler than the other, of the same type, \downarrow) can represent \mathfrak{P} , — is to me too hard. If the K-sign had been \mathfrak{Y} , there might have been some bare possibility, by cutting off the foot and lengthening it instead upward (from \mathfrak{Y} to \downarrow and then to \downarrow). There would at all events have been the \mathfrak{V} somewhere. But \mathfrak{Y} is not the rune for K, it stands for M.

Consequently \downarrow seems to me quite clearly short for \mathfrak{K} , which is itself short for \mathfrak{H} , which is H. I therefore look upon \downarrow as H, not K.

In late middle-age Scandinavian stave-rows, made to imitate the Latin alphabet, \mathfrak{H} (as short for \mathfrak{D}) is H; but \perp , \downarrow (as a variation of \downarrow , S) is used for C.

And in fact H occurs very frequently (in both runic and Roman letters), with a strong guttural power, neither so bare as G nor so sharp as K. It is this local dialectic sound of H, which I believe to be here given on these Helsing stones. Runic H has frequently been transliterated as GH or GH. The wellknown Runic MS. of the Skåne-law has crowds of this \mathfrak{H} for GH, in addition to the common runes for G and K. Prof. THORSEN, in his edition in Latin letters (Kjöbenhavn 1854) repre-

sents this sound of * by GH. In his edition of the Skåne-law, when describing this runic codex (Lund 1859, 4to, p. VII), Prof. SCHLYTER says: »As to the orthography there is nothing remarkable, save that, instead of G or GH inside and at the end of words, it often uses H. This results from the ancient pronunciation of many words, which, instead of the present G-sound, had an aspiration whose nearest representative in writing was H. We have traces of this talk not only on runic stones but also in ancient skinbooks written with our common letters, such as the oldest codices of the Westgöta Law». That K (G) should get this sound of H (GH) is a *small* thing, compared with endless other linguistic phenomena, among others that H itself sometimes hardens into K and is written Ꝛ. I will only mention one other instance, that *the strong granite-rock* Ꝛ, at the *beginning* of a word, has in many instances in certain districts drifted into H, while in others it has melted away altogether! *Inside* and at the *end* of a word, things are worse still.

In one word, as in the Skåne-law runics its * (H) stands, save at the *beginning* of words, for GH, so I think has the ↓ (H) on these Helsing stones, as copied by CARL SÄVE, the power of GH, G.

Before, in the absence of SÄVE's, I add my own attempt to give the meaning of this Malstad monolith, I would say a few words.

FRUMUNT, nominative, occurs once later on this stone written out *without* any final -R. We are therefore not justified in doubling the R at the beginning, so as to get the »correct» form FRUMUNTR.

STAINA ÞINA, a little after, is a fuller and older shape of the STIN ÞINA near the end.

The great difficulty is the line SIULFIR UARÞ UM LANTI ÞISU RI UIHA. Not only is it hard to understand, but we cannot even guess what this SIULFIR (or KIULFIR) has to do with the other persons mentioned on the stone.

As to SIULFIR. Must we take it as an error on SÄVE's part for HIULFIR? Prof. BUGGE, who examined this monument in 1876, quotes this word ¹⁾ as »KIULFIR = GYLFIR». On the contrary SÄVE, in his letter to me, took what he redd to be plainly SIULFIR as = SIU-ULFIR, Icelandic SÆ-ULFR.

UM LANTI ÞISU RI UIHA I would divide as it stands. In SÄVE's note to me of 27 Dec. 1872, after explaining his discovery that ' is S and ' etc. H, he says that there are several things in this inscription which he cannot master. Especially of this passus he observes:

¹⁾ »Rune-Indskriften paa Ringen i Forsa Kirke», p. 21.

»The ÞISU RI UIHA is a puzzle to me; ÞISURI as a dat. s. n. I cannot accept; it must then be divided ÞISU. But what are we to do with RI UIHA or RIUIHA (hitherto redd incorrectly UISR)?»¹⁾. Where SÄVE failed, I may well trip also. I therefore propose my ideas with great diffidence.

ÞISU I take to be THIS, in the dat. or ac. sing. f. But ÞISU is else (ÞESSU, ÞESSO, ÞUISA) dat. s. *neut.* Hitherto we have no example of ÞISU as dat. or ac. sing. fem. to agree with RI (RIP), which is everywhere feminine²⁾. In our *oldest* Scando-English monuments, however, we have *very many* surprising local variations and confusions in the case-forms of this pronoun as of others, and fresh »variants» are found yearly. They will one day be carefully collected by a student of *facts*, not theories. RYDQVIST (Sv. Spr. Lagar, II, 496) has only glanced at a very few of them. I therefore think this »illegal» form to be no real difficulty.

RI I look upon as the word RIP (RID, Icel. HRID, Old-Engl. HRID, *time, period*, all fem.). Of old, phrases of time, when this term was employed, were in the dat. or ac. with or without a preposition. ÞISU RI would therefore be *at this time, then*. It is a *date*. But it helps us not. For we cannot say when the mystical HIULFIR (or GYLFIR) lived.

¹⁾ »SIULFIR tager jag för SIU-ULFIR, isl. SÆ-ULFR. Slutet ÞISU-RI-UIHA är mig obegripligt; ÞISURI såsom dat. sing. neutr. kan jag ej tro på, utan bör väl delas ÞISU. Men hvad skall man då göra med RI UIHA eller RIUIHA (hittills orätt läst: UISR)?»

²⁾ RI or RIP is another instance, to the many already found on our *runic* pieces as on our old *vellums* and in our local *talks*, old and new, of the very frequent slurring of the P, from early times downwards. For a long list of *runic* »assimilations», »softenings», »vocalizations» and »elisions» of P see my *Old-Northern Runic Monuments*, Vol. I, p. 39. I have since found others. — For examples from Swedish *codices* see RYDQVIST'S »Svenska Språkets Lagar» II, 299: »P = th can in certain situations dissolve into H, or disappear altogether», — — — »P can fall away at the beginning of a word, inside a word and at its close», with, p. 402, Apheresis; p. 409, Synkope; and p. 422, Apokope. But I need not insist further on a thing so well known. — As for the *gender* of RIP, there may very well have been a local *neuter*. There are swarms of these words in olden times in all our dialects with *one or two or three genders* in more or less similar forms, and often words have *changed* their gender, were once *masc.*, then *fem.* or *neuter*, etc. Every day we are finding words in to us formerly unknown genders. Of this RI may be a new instance. Therefore, *also from this standpoint*, RI as neuter, ÞISU RI may be perfectly regular and correct.

But all the difficulty will disappear, if the *old* drawings by the CELSIUS family and the *new* drawing by CARL SÄVE were *right*!¹⁾ Should the stone really have SIULFIR, as I believe it has, we get a simple and suitable and splendid meaning. For this SIULFIR will then be nom. sing. masc., meaning SELF, HE-HIMSELF, the deceased chieftain FI-HIULFI. As all other words, so this for SELF has manifold dialectic shapes on our runic and other monuments. Excluding those places where the word is a Proper name, I have on my runic lists — which are not complete:

n. s. m. SELFR; SIALFR; SIALVR; SYULFR or SÜULFR (LILJ. 739; DYBECKS Runurkunder, folio, no. 106; *Långthora*, *Upland*: ULFR SYULFR HAN).

d. s. m. SIOLFUM.

ac. s. m. SELFAN, SELFON, SIALFAN, SILFAN, SILFON.

ac. s. f. SIALFA; SIALFUAN, this last doubtful, as the stone has perisht; it is LILJ. 329.

The ending -IR for -R, etc., is common enough in olden days and on runic pieces²⁾.

I therefore regard the [FIHIULFI] SIULFIR of the Malstad monolith as *identical* with the [ULFR] SYULFR HAN of the Långthora stone.

But we have UIHA left. SÄVE's happy correction here, from the formerly-redd UISR, makes the whole plain. This word, so famous and common in Old-English, is almost unknown in all the other Scando-Gothic tungs. I am not aware that it has ever before been found in Sweden. In Norway and Denmark it has also probably died out. In Iceland it remained, but only as the name or epithet of a Dog. Even what we have of Mæso-Gothic does not show it, as little as the O.-Fris. and the O.-Sax. In Ohg. it occurs, but only once and then in a compound, in the old form UIIGO. In England we had WIGA, gen. WIGAN, with a host of compounds ending in -WIGA. It lingers on in

¹⁾ It is a long time since 1851, when SÄVE made his drawing. In the course of 25 years the frost and snow may have still further damaged the stone at this spot, and this may have misled Prof. BUGGE. So much the more, as the difference between ¹ (S) and ¹ (BUGGE's K, SÄVE's H) is not great. Ever so small a weathering or crack or flaw at the bottom of the ¹, and we have ¹ at once, if we are not on our guard.

²⁾ As we know, the Scandinavian nom. ending in *later* but still old times had many forms. Besides the usual- UR (commonly in the Mss. only -R) were also -AR, -ER and -IR. Of this last we have not a few runic examples, some of them very old, as here on this Malstad stone. See JON THORKESSON: »Um R og UR i niðrlagi orða og orðstofnað (Reykjavik 1863. 8vo).

Early and Middle English (WIGE, WIE, etc.) and then dies out of the book-language, now subsisting only as a »vulgar» word in the shape of WIGGER. The Icelandic form is VÍGI, for in Scandinavia the older nom. -A ending (also O, Æ, etc.) lost the fuller vowel and became I, while the -N of the weak declension fell away, so that, for instance (WIGO), WIGA, gen. WIGAN, became WIGI, gen. WIGA. Vígfússon says of this word in his *CLEASBY'S Lexicon*: »VÍGI, A, m. *a fighter*, only used as the name of a hound, e. g. Vígi, the dog of king OLAVE TRYGGVASON, Fms. i—iii, and so in mod. usage». We have several other instances in the later or Scandinavian runes of this lingering older A-ending, instead of the later I¹). In the *Old-Northern* Runic monuments, as being so *much* more antique, this A (O, Æ, etc.) is the rule.

WIGA, then, literally meant only *a Fighter, a Warrior, a Soldier*; but, like all such words, it could sink in a military population to the meaning of *a Man* on the one side, and could rise on the other to that of *Champion, Chief, Commander*, etc. Here it is doubtless taken in its wider sense of *WARDEN, GUARDIAN, LORD-LIEUTENANT, Landtvärnsman, Landshöfding*, thus the highest ruler in this folkland, but at the same time implying that a still higher master existed, — that already *Sreden had a KING*.

Supposing then SÄVE's transcript to be correct, accepting for the moment his order of the lines, and waiting patiently till my learned friend Prof. S. BUGGE publishes his notes on these stones, — I would propose:

¹) I will only mention one. The Urlunda-stone, Upland, (LILJ. 729, DYBECK, folio, I no. 96), ends with the lines

FU(L)H-FILA
FAR AFLAPI
UTI KRIKUM
ARFA SINUM.

This -FOLK-FELLER (smiter of men, conqueror)

FEE (riches) ABLED (wan, gained)

OUT mong-the-GREEKS (in Greece)

to -ARV (heir, son) SIN (his).

The Malstad formula is also in simple stave-rime verse:

SIULFIR UARÞ UM LANTI
PISU RI UIHA.

FILA is here found for the first time in runics, and is excessively rare. I only know it in the Icel. FELLI, but this is only used as a prefix in compounds, *suddenly falling or coming*, as FELLI-SOTT, a sudden sickness. Otherwise the Icelanders said FELLIR, which is exactly the English FELLER. FELLA is unknown in O.-English, etc.

FRUMUNT WROTE (carved) STONE THIS AFTER (in minne of) FIHIULFI BRISIS-SON; IN (but) BRISI WAS LINTS-SON; IN (but) LINI WAS UN'S-SON; IN (but) UN WAS FAH'S-SON; IN (but) FAH-was HATHUR'S-SON;

IN (but) THA (then-was) BARLAF; IN (but) THA (then-was) HUTHRUN; IN (but) THA (then-was) NU I' (in, of)

the-THREE-BOOS (= three-thorp, a group of three holdings or homesteads or farm-houses);

IN (but) THA (then-was) LANAHA; IN (but) THA (then-was) FITH (= FINN) ON (at) SEA;

[Fihulfi him]SELF WARTH (became, lived to be), UM (about, within) our-LAND,

in-THIS his-HRITH (time, day), WIGA (Lord-Warden, Protector, Governor) (= He himself, in his time, rose to the office of Lord-Protector of this folkland).

ARUA WAS MOTHER of-FIHIULFI.

FRUMUNT, FIHIULFI'S-SON, FAWED (cut, inscribed) RUNES THESE. — WE SOUGHT (fetched, brought) STONE THIS NORTH IN BALASTIN.

In the same way as on this Malstad minne, *many* of our finest Northern runic death-pillars announce at their close (usually in verse, as here) some memorable exploit of the deceast, or some great rank or wealth or office which he had gained, ere he was called away from his kindred and brothers-in-arms.

As I have never been in Helsingland, and have no opportunity of studying its minute topography, I do not know where the places here called I PRIM-BIUM, A SIU, and I BALASTIN were. Only, as to the first, we still have similar compounds; thus, TREHÖRNA in Jönköpings and Östergötlands Län, TREHÖRNING-SJÖ in West Norrlands Län; TREVATTNA in Skaraborgs Län, TREABOTHE (now TRIABO) in Småland, and several others. With regard to A SIU, it must have been a common local name in water-rich Norrland.

I cannot regard LANAHR as a stead-name, but as a mansname, like all the others preceded by the well-known IN ÞA. I observe, however, that Prof. BUGGE (Forsa-Ringen p. 39) takes this LANAHR to be the spot now called LÖNNÅNGER. I fail to see how LANAHR ever could produce such a form as LÖNNÅNGER; still less can I believe that — in such a long pedigree, all connected by the formal IN ÞA, written out or understood — one of the ascending names should suddenly become the name of a place. The 3 real place-names are given with the usual prepositions I (IN) and A (AN, ON). And besides, we have the acknowledged runic family names LA and NAH. Why should we not divide LA-NAHR? The R is merely the nominative-mark. Here

we have LA-NAH. Another of the ancestors was HA-PURI. Probably, in the usual way, *LOW*-NAH and *HIGH*-THURI.

SUNNÅ, HELSINGLAND.



This monolith, also in Rogstad Parish, is no. 1064 in LILJEGREN. I here give the whole block, and also the runes separately, both from drawings found among SÄVE's papers. His Note-book (p. 15) contains his first sketch. On a separate piece of paper he has written a runic

transliteration, and on yet another slip the answering Latin letters, which I here print. He has left no translation, but I add my own, which is doubtless such as he himself would have given. He remarks in his Note-book that the copy was made 2 Sept. 1851, and that the old mill-dam was then pierced by a canal and the mill moved lower down; but that the block, of hard dark blueish-gray granite, was then lying among other stones on the right bank of the canal¹⁾. He gives its height as 6 feet, and its breadth as 2 feet.

FRUMUNTR FIHIULFIS SUN RITI STAIN PINA AFTIR FIHIULFA
BRISA SUN : FRUMUNT IN PA ÞURMUNT IN PA SNRARIR IN PA UN

FRUMUNT FIHIULFIS-SON WROTE (inscribed) STONE THIS AFTER
(in memory of) FIHIULFI BRISI-SON.

FRUMUNT; IN (but) THA (then) THURMUNT; IN (but) THA (then)
SNRARIR; IN (but) THA (then) UN.

I do not think that SNRARIR is »miscut» or a »barbarism²⁾. It seems to me only one of the many instances of »local lip», a twist in the sound, and to be = SNARIR, a mansname signifying *The Bold, the Keen, the Swift-rushing*. On the Låderstad stone, Upland, we have the side-form SNARI, and on the Hjelteberga block, Upland, the side-form SNORIR; while on the Löfstad monument, Upland, we meet the fine mansname SNERIBIARN, *the brisk-turning Bear, Wringing-Bear*. This SNARIR answers to the Icelandic SNERRIR. Compare the illustrative lines in the Eyrbyggja Saga, 30: »In his youth he was hard and unbending, and was therefore called SNERRIR, and thereafter SNORRI³⁾».

On one of SÄVE's loose leaves he says: »At the state-farm Jättendal are 2 letters from Archbishop JÖNS BENGTSSON and STEN STURE the Elder, confirming KARL KNUTSSON's separation of this property. — Are they known?»⁴⁾.

¹⁾ »Den gamla qvarndammen är nu genombruten af en kanal och qvarnen flyttad längre ned; men stenen (af hård, mörkt gråblå gråsten) ligger kvar bland stenarne på kanalens högra sida.»

²⁾ On this added R see RYDQVIST: Sv. Spr. Lagar, IV, 446 & fol. We see a still more peculiar insertion of T (STN for SN) in some old local codices, particularly the *Norse Barlaams & Josephats Saga*, ms. written about 1250, (Unger, Christiania 1851, 8vo.), which has continually STNEROZT for SNEROZT, STNIALLR for SNIALLR, STNUA for SNUA, STNIOR for SNIOR, STNEMMA for SNEMMA, etc. etc.

³⁾ »Hann var heldr útvífr í æskunni, ok var hann af því Snerrir kallaðr, ok eptir þat Snorri.» Eyrbyggja Saga, herausg. von G. Vigfusson. (Leipzig 1864, 8vo.) ch. 12, p. 13.

⁴⁾ »På kungsgården Jättendal finnas tvänne bref af Erkebisp JÖNS BENGTSSON och STEN STURE d. ä., som stadfästa KARL KNUTSSONS afsöndring af detta kronogoda. — Äro de bekanta?»

On the same page he remarks: »The genealogical order on the Malstad stone is in the ascending line, but on the Sunnå stone it is descending, contrary to the explanation of ARENDT and others; so that ÞURMUNT (not FROMUNT, as LILJEGREN says) is Brise's son and SUDBARIR is FROMUNT'S son, etc. In one word, FROMUND has here, on this block to the memory of his father FIHIOLF, commemorated his uncle's stem in descending line»¹⁾.

I cannot see that things were exactly so. We must remember that the Malstad death-minne, as a Stem-roll, stands alone among all our monuments. We have here a record of 11 generations, thus going back some 300 to 400 winters, which undoubtedly presupposes not only that the family was exceptionally careful in keeping up its ancestral traditions, but that it had all along *written family archives*, written *RUNIC annals*, probably on wooden tablets. Now such a lordly house, anxious that the names of its members (whether from father to son or from heir to heir) should not die, would also wish that this list should be *continued*. FRUMUND; when he transferred to the hard granite this record of the greatness and long duration of his line, would not have it end with himself. He therefore cut a duplicate block, a second but summary memorial, and desired his aftercomers to add their names thereto. This was done for 4 generations more, and then, apparently — for nothing is stable in this world, the greatest kingdoms, the most illustrious dynasties of Governors Warriors or Sages, come to an end — THE FAMILY DIED OUT.

Should this be so, we get the following remarkable runic stem-table of 15 generations, running — if we approximately fix the Malstad monolith at about the year 1050 — from about 700 to 1150 after Christ:

FAMILY-ROLL IN HELSINGLAND, SWEDEN.

1. FITH (= FINN) A SIU.

(About A. D. 700.)

2. LANAH.

3. NU I PRIM-BIUM.

4. HUTHRUN.

¹⁾ »Ättledningen på Malstad-stenen är i uppstigande led, men i nedstigande på Sunnå-stenen, tväremot ARENTS och andras tydning; så att ÞURMUNT (ej FROMUNT, som LILJEGREN säger) är BRISES son och SUDBARIR FROMUNTS o. s. v. Med ett ord FROMUND har på minnesstenen efter fadern FIHIOLF upptecknat sin farbroders ättlingar i nedstigande.»

5. BARLAF.
 |
 6. HATHURI.
 |
 7. FAH.
 |
 8. UN.
 |
 9. LINI.
 |
 10. BRISI, married to ARUA.
 |
 11. FIHIULFI.
 (Governor of Helsingland about A. D. 1050. His 2 grave-stones were raised
 by his son:
 12. FRUMUND.
 |
 13. THURMUND.
 |
 14. SNRARIR.
 |
 15. UN.
 (About A. D. 1150).

Most of these monuments were not the work of simple or professional or mechanical stonecutters. They were usually executed with pious care by the son or next of kin or some dear friend or comrade. So with these double-stones in minne of FIHIULFI. They were carved *by his son's own hand.*

FRUMUNT RIT STAINA PINA AFTIR FIHIULFA.
 FRUMUNT FIHIULFA SUN FAPI RUNAR PISAR
 FRUMUNTR FIHIULFIS SUN RITI STAIN PINA AFTIR FIHIULFA.

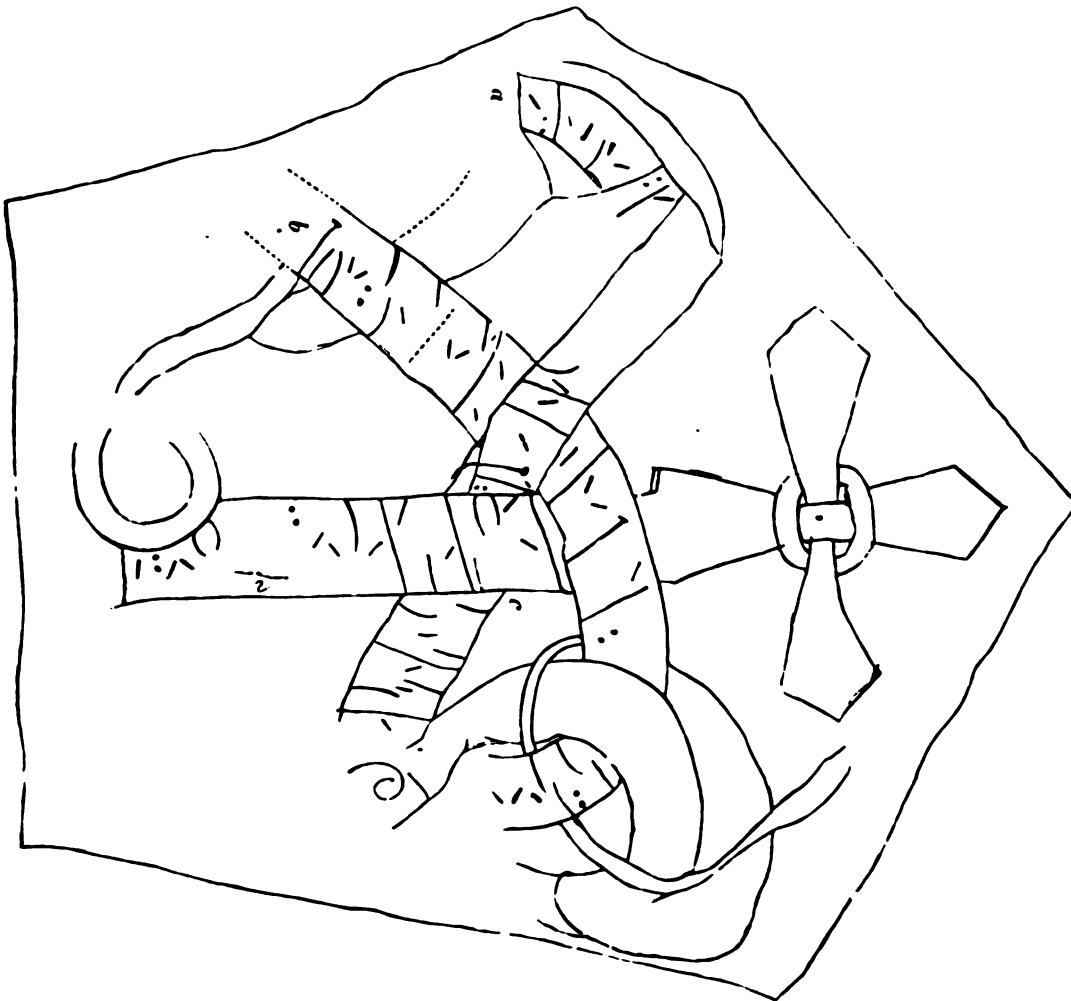
I have already pointed out the differences of the unfixed word-sounds (sometimes merely word-spellings) on *the same* block, here the Malstad. And if we compare *the two contemporaneous grave-slabs* — both carved by *the same accomplished rune-master* — with each other, we have:

<i>Malstad:</i>	<i>Sunnå:</i>
FRUMUNT,	FRUMUNTR.
RIT,	RITI.
STAINA,	STAIN.
FIHIULFA (gen.),	FIHIULFIS (gen.).

Should we read FIHIULFI SUN (not FIHIULFIS SUN, as SÄVE has done), we still get FIHIULFA (gen.) as compared with FIHIULFI (gen.). It is much better, as I have repeatedly said, to accept *the facts*

(and they *are* facts, else these costly monuments are only useless stone), rather than manufacture endless theories and systems about a »uniformity» and »iron laws» which never have existed and never could, especially in periods and lands of mixt folk-talks ever in flux and change and transition, till, from the archaic half Gothic (and also endlessly fluctuating) forms of the first half dozen centuries after Christ, we come to the merely *conventional and commanded* book-dialects of CHARLES the Twelfth and TEGNÉR, STORM and P. A. MUNCH, HOLBERG and OEHLenschläGER, and the last Icelandic Newspaper!

TUNA, HELSINGLAND.



This is LILJEGREN's no. 1067. The above is from SÄVE's first sketch, in pencil, Note-book p. 18, 19. Unhappily, I can find nothing more among his papers than this outline, dated Sept. 1851. The size he gives as 10 feet 3 inches greatest height, 10 feet greatest breadth.

Below, he gives a strange copy of the staves by N. J. EKDAHL, 16 March 1830:

- a. Tunar in þuna lit hrista spain aftir sun sin astria
- b. Atla þunar sun lina stin b þinr af þlr aban
- c. In brusi arbiarnar faþr raunar þina.»

LILJEGREN's reading is better:

- a. ...—... stin þina aftir sunu sina þria frupm r in ...—
- b. ...—...lf runar sun Lina stin þina f...—... sum *sunan la*...
- c. In Brusi Asbiarnar : sun faþi : runar þina.

SÄVE not having given any key to his drawing, all I can do is to communicate what would seem to be the meaning of his runes. These are, apparently:

- a. (.....) INR IN ÞUNAIM IT (.....)U ÞINI AFTIR SUN SIN SPRIAS (.....)
- b. (....) FRUNAR, SUN L(i)NA, STIN ÞINA AFLIR, SUM SUNAN (....)
- c. IN BRUSI ASBIARNAR (.....) RUNAR ÞI (..)

When the old copies were made, the block had suffered less than in 1851, when SÄVE found it a wreck. It is therefore permissible to use old materials, and in this way rescue something of what once stood, at the same time filling in a word or two by analogy with similar formulas. We are not sure that each such added word was exactly so, but they are useful and can do no harm. Trusting then to the older drawings, but especially to SÄVE's, I suggest:

- a. (.....)INR IN ÞUNAIM IT(In raist)U ÞINI AFTIR SUN SIN SPRIAS (.....)
- b. (auk at a)LFRUNAR, SUN L(i)NA, STIN ÞINA AFLIR, SUM SUNAN (LAnts tu).
- c. IN BRUSI ASBIARNAR SUN FAÞI RUNAR ÞI (?-sa, ?-na).

This would seem to signify:

- a. (.....)IN IN THUNAIM TINE (mark, pillar raise)D THIS AFTER SON SIN (his) STHRIAS (.....)
- b. (and to a)LFRUNAR, SON of-LINI, STONE THIS ABLES (gets, procures, raises), SUM (who) in-the-SOUTHERN-LAND (out south) (died).
- c. IN (but) BRUSI ASBIARNSON FAWED (carved) RUNES, THESE.

Of the raiser's name only IN (with the nom. mark -R) is here left.

IN, should it be so, is antique, the N not yet slurred.

THUNAIM (TH for T as so frequently) is (THUNHAIM) TUNHEM or TUNA. There are yet several places so called in Sweden and Norway, and there have been more. We cannot know whether there was one in Helsingland, or whether IN was settled in Westergötland or Norway or elsewhere.

TINE, pillar-stone, grave-mark, occurs very frequently side by side with stone. And as we so often have ISTAN, ISTIN, etc. for STAN, STIN, etc., so we as often have ITAN, ITIN, etc. for TAN, TIN, etc. In my Old-Northern Runic monuments I have several examples of this TAN, TIN, ITAN, ITIN, etc., and in my forthcoming 3rd volume I have collected 9 others.

(raised). Only U left. We have many examples of this and other such verbs, 3 singular past, with the old O- or U-ending.

STHRIAS (= STRIAS) is a mansname I have never seen before. It seems to be one of the rare epithets ending in AS (ANS). Perhaps, with the so common elision of þ, it is = STRIP-AS, *Battle-chief*.

The Scando-Gothic mansname RUNAR (RUNHARI) has not before been found in runics, but we have the side-form RUNI with its fem. RUNA. (Whether we take this RUN in RUNAR to be RUN a rune, or RUNI (RONE) a Runnie, wild-boar, makes no difference to the argument.) The -LFRUNAR apparently points to ALFRUNAR, a name not before met with. I prefer AL-FRUNAR, *All-frouner*, the *Ever-frowning*.

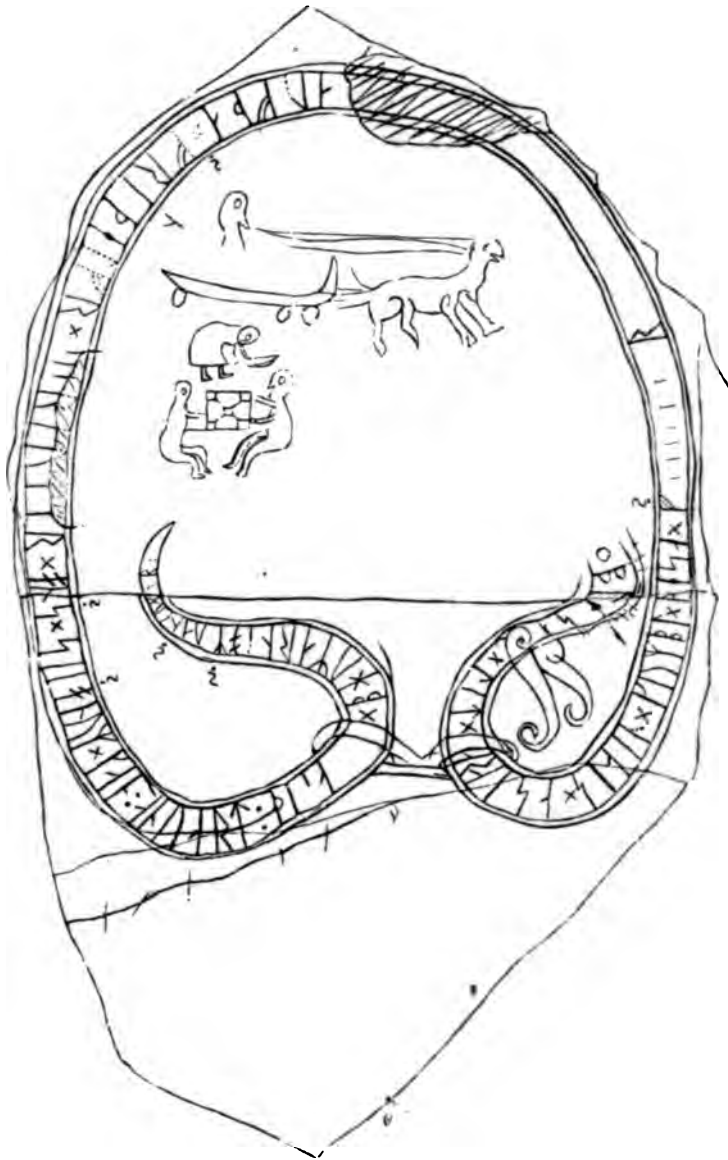
AFLA, to *ABLE*, *get*, occurs more than once before on our runic stones. Here it is found, for the first time, in reference to the pillar itself.

We have SUNAN-LANT, ac. pl. n., on the Maeshowe block, Orkney, No. 16.

Thus, if the above be admitted, this ancient epitaph is now nearly restored to us, — thanks to SÄVE's drawing. But of course I only offer my restoration — till a better comes.

Should the LINI in the second line be the LINI UN'S SON of the Malstad monolith, then the above (a)LFRUNAR was a brother of BRISI LINA-SON, the father of FIHIULFI. The Tuna stone will then be about 60 years older than that at Malstad. Most likely this is so. Both are Christian memorials.

KATILBIURN and his son ANUND perish. Three surviving sons or kinsmen raise this block to their memory.

UGGLEBO, GESTRIKLAND.

SAVE's next pencil-sketch (Note-book, p. 21) is of the UGGLEBO (LILJEGREN, No. 1060, calls it Ockelbo) block, a monument remarkable for its many and peculiar sculptures and for its long and uncommon inscription. But we have never been able to get paper casts of this

minne-stone, tho such would only cost some pence and a couple of hours' work, — and the transcript by EKDAHL in LILJEGREN is simply useless.

Hence the above drawing, however imperfect as merely a first attempt by a non-artistic hand, is of the greatest value to us. It even renders possible the thought that the epigraph may be redd and the lacune reasonably filled up.

SÄVE tells us in his Note-book that this piece was very much worn, and was covered with figures of men and animals and birds, which he was incapable of representing¹⁾. He has, however, given us a man driving a cart, and 2 men playing at some table-game while a third is otherwise employed. I only hope that it may not be impossible for us *still* to recover the interesting figure-details of this sculptured slab!

Its greatest height, SÄVE says, was about 7 feet 8 inches, its greatest breadth about 4 feet. It stood in the chamber behind the altar¹⁾.

But I can find among SÄVES papers no single word about this monolith, no attempt to translate it or grapple with its difficulties. We have therefore not the benefit of his guidance. But he has put-in the runes so carefully, that we may perhaps look upon them as substantially correct.

As a preliminary step we must see and acknowledge that the formula is here very uncommon, and that the words must be handled accordingly. Next, as to the staves, we must remark that we have here 2 characters for S, the ζ and the ι , and that * (only found once) is apparently used here with its olden value as Æ, of which we have such multitudinous examples.

I would begin at the head of the worm-wind, and divide and translate as follows:

BLESA LIT RAISA S(T)AI(N)-KUMBL PESA F(iri faþu)R (sina) AUF-
PA . FRIPE(LF)R. S(HR-TUTI)R ONS, S(T)I ONUM KAN-AN-UART PISA.
BÆUMARN I OM UAN (R)UA-R [= RUNA-RITAR].

BLESA LET RAISE STONE-CUMBELS THESE (these grave-marking stones) F(or fathc)R (sin = her,) AUFTHI. FRITHELF, SWEOR-DAUGHTER (daughter-in-law) HIS SET to-HIM KEN-ON-WARD (marking beacon) THIS. BÆUMARN IN OM WAN (warkt, made, carved) thesc-RUNE-WRITINGS (lines of runes).

Thus, should the above be on the whole rightly understood, this monument to SUART-HAUFPI, or whatever the broken name ending in

¹⁾ »Runsten i rummet bak altaret. Stenen jämmerligen sliten, full af figurer, menniskor, djur och foglar. Ritningen för stor, och flere figurer funnos.»

AUFPI may have been, was raised by two ladies, the *daughter* and the *daughter-in-law* of the deceast. As we have elsewhere the mansname BLESİ, so we have here the womansname BLESÄ. She raised the *stone-cumbels*, the lines of standing stones or whatever else they were. But FRITHELF, probably the widow of his already dead son, set up in his memory the tall *ward* or beacon. This last additional mark of respect, built up near the grave, is distinctly mentioned in several of these runic mortuary formulas under the names KASI (Swedish KASE, KAS, vârdKASE, etc.), UARPI (Sw. VÂRD) and UITI (Sw. VETTE, VETT). There is therefore nothing surprising in its occurrence here. And as we have elsewhere the KAN- or KEN- or KIN- or KUN- (*KEN or KENNING or marking or pointing or memorial*) RUNES or STONE, so here we have the KAN-AN-VART, the *KEN ON-WARD, the WARD or VARDE or beacon-pile ON or AN or TO a person*. We have several of these old compounds still left. So for instance the modern Å-BUI was once ON-BUI, the modern Å-MINNE was once ON-MINI, and so on. In the same way this antique AN-VART represents what would be a later Å-VARDE, which however I have never seen.

I leave it to local topographers to determine where OM was. There are still several places called OM, OMNÄS, OMSJÖ, etc. in the north of Sweden. Perhaps an OM may still be found in Gestrikland.

At the end, as we see, there was no room to spare at the tip of the worm-tail. Hence the contractions STI for SATI and RUA-R for RUNA-RAP or RUNA-RIT or RUNA-RITAR, etc., all which frequently occur, sometimes as here, and for the same reason, *shortened*.

As to the name of the rune-carver. It was certainly BÆUMARN, however we may divide or explain it. Most likely it was quite simply BÆUM-ARN, *BEMEARN or EAGLE, TREE-EAGLE*. Compare the M. Goth. BAGMS, N. Icel. BÄMR, O.-Engl. BEAM, O.-Sax. BOM, Ohg. BAUM, BOUM, modern Swedish BOM, etc., a word once in full use in Scandinavian as in other Scando-Gothic dialects, but which gradually became obsolete in some of them or obtained special meanings,— which so often happens in all tungs. We have divers runic names ending in -ARN. This one I have never seen before.

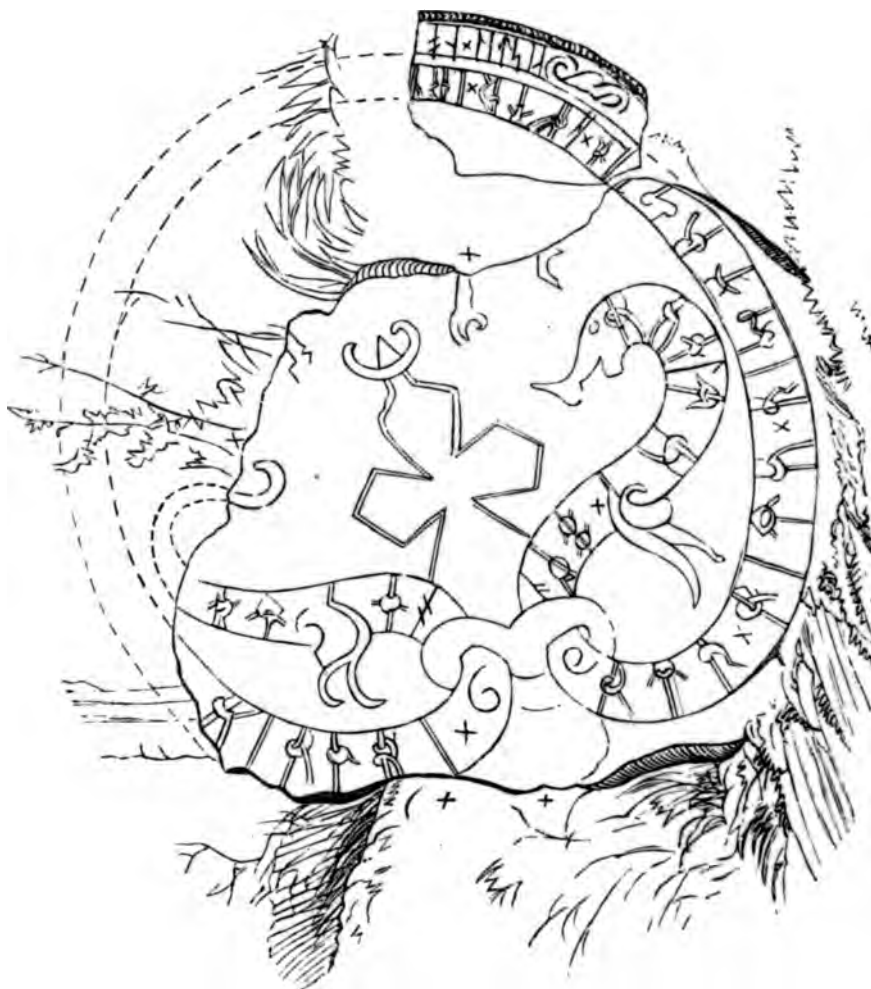
This is No. 1057 in LILJEGREN, who had no other authority than No. 1094 in Bautil. Nor has the stone been published since, so far as I know. We must therefore be thankful for what Prof. SÄVE (Note-book p. 22) has given us, under date 10 Sept. 1851. It is only a pencil note of the runes, no drawing or reading or translation or comparison with Bautil. His runes are:

This is at all events better than the woodcut in GÖRANSSON's *Bautil*. Supposing STR to have been a superlative and LSIÐ a place-name, I would propose:

ELHULF, OSULHF EKE (and) OSMUNT THEY WROTE (rune-carved) STONE-this AFTER (. father sin (their). He was cunning) EST (most skilled) of-SMITHS (handicraftsmen, artists), EKE (to-himself all LSITH CHEAPT (bought)).

We have many instances on runic stones of the deceased having owned or purchased landed property, well-known villages or estates.

OFVANSJÖ, GESTRIKLAND.



It is best to take our materials here consecutively. They are:

1. BURE. Ms. 7, No. 93. His drawing includes a fragment since lost, fitting on to the other, and bearing IN IFTIR IR(M), and thereunder, in common runes, ON LITSIA. The L in RUALTR and the O in ONTA are also in common runes. And he has, in common runes, (T) after the RISTU.

2. GÖRANSSON's Bautil No. 1095. Besides other errors, has only the main piece.

3. LILJEGREN (No. 1058) refers to BURE and Bautil, but gives only the large bit, and that corruptly.

4. CARL SÄVE: Note-book p. 23. No drawing. Gives the runes alone, as copied by him 10 Sept. 1851. Only the main piece, and that with errors.

5. A drawing in my collections by ALBERT BERG and VILHELM UPPSTRÖM in 1867. Only the main piece. Agrees with BURE, but the T after RISTU was then gone.

For greater clearness, I will parallel these readings:

BURE.	RUALTR OK UTR LITU RISTU S(T)IN IFTR
BAUT.	URANR OK UTR LITU RISTU S
LILJ.	VRATVI OK UTR LITU RISTU S
SÄVE.	URANR OK ULR LITU RISTU S
B. & U.	RUALTR OK UTR LITU RISTU S
BURE.	IRM . . . ON LITSIA K IULBI ONTA . . .
BAUT. U IULBI ONTA . . .
LILJ. U IULBI ONTA . . .
SÄVE. IULBI
B. & U. K IULBI ONTA . . .

We see that the careful drawing made by BERG and UPPSTRÖM exactly agrees with the very oldest by BURE, as far as it goes, and that we may consequently depend on BURE for his copy of the fragment which is now lost.

I have therefore had photoxylographt their valuable drawing of 1867, but have added to it the now missing bit, as given by BURE. In this way we get the following text, which is evidently correct:

RUALTR OK UTR LITU RISTU STIN IFTR IRM(. . .) ON LITSIA,
(faþur sin. Kuþ biarki o)K IULBI ONTA (hons).

*RUALT EKE UTR LET RIST (inscribe) this-STONE AFTER IRM(. . .)
ON (of, at) LITSIA (father sin (their). God barg (save, bless) EKE HELP OND
(soul) (his)!*

We feel that we are here on firm ground. RUALT (= HRUÐWALD) is also found in runics as HRUALTR, ROÐUALDR, with a gen. RUHÁLTS and an acc. ROULIT.

UTR also appears in runics as OTAR, UTAR.

RISTU is another proof of the N having fallen away in the infinitive, which has colored (to O, U) the foregoing vowel A (RISTAN, RISTU, not yet RISTA).

IRM . . . may have been IRMUNT, or some such name.

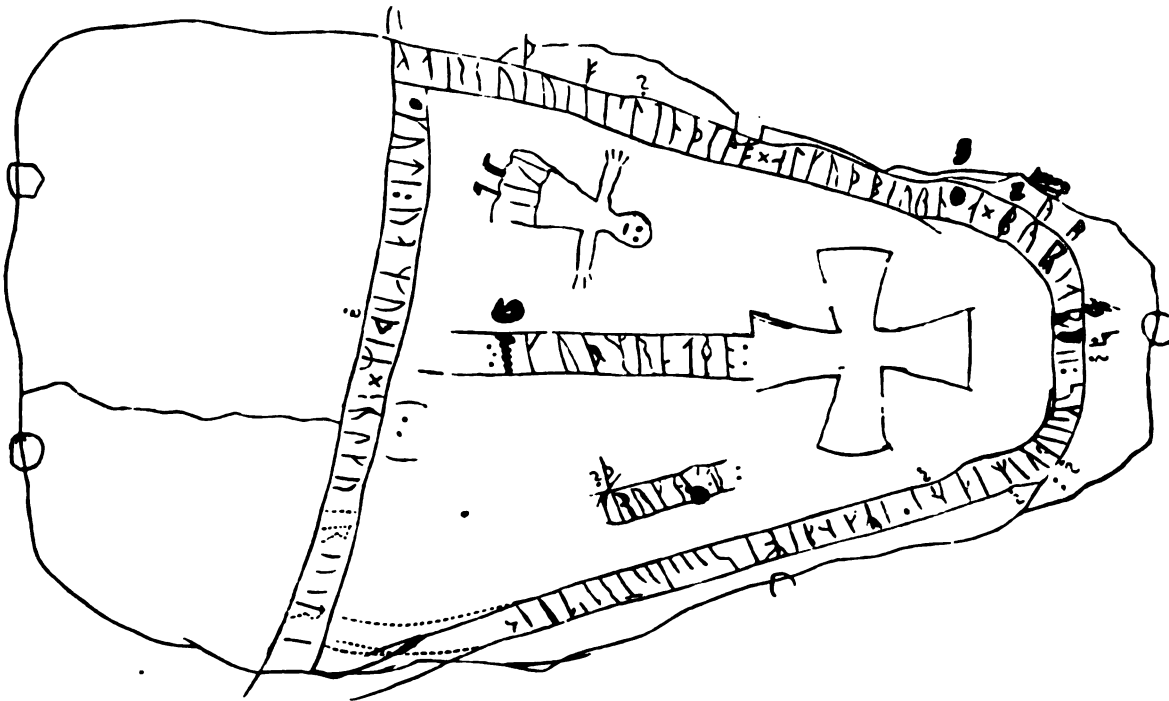
ON is the antique preposition ON (AN), with the N still left, thus not yet O (A).

The place-name LITSIA (or whatever it was in the nominative) others must clear up. In Jämtland there is a parish called LIT. There may have been a spot in Gestrikland called LIT-SIA, *LIT-SEA*, *Lake Lit*.

We have the formula *TO BARG AND HELP* on many other stones, and the dative ONTA is common.

All this is *on the supposition* that we have substantially the true text, which I believe, and that my arrangement of it is on the whole correct. The *mistakes* made by some of the copyists have arisen from the peculiar interlacing of the runes, some of which may easily be mistaken the one for the other. These staves are the most elegant ever yet discovered on any ancient runic monument, and show the stone-cutter to have been a superior artist.

THORSÅKER, GESTRIKLAND.



LILJEGREN's No. 1055. — Bautil's No. 1097 is horrid. BURE's text, Ms. Runah. No. 533, is:

... IN PINO AT KUÞBIURN I BRUÞIR K.K. . . . ANAIMSKASUA
 KUNA UA MUÞIRII . . MRIL . UAIIII . KUÞMUNTRO . PRUKUIL.

LILJEGREN, who also used a copy by CELSIUS, has: *Tvari. riti stin pino at Kupbiurn brupur sin ... — ... kuni var muþir . Kupmuntar . Kupmuntr þrunkaþi:*

All that we have from SÄVE's hand is the above loose pencil-sketch, very rough, made on the 13th of Sept. 1851. He then measured the stone. It was about 7 feet high by about 3 feet 3 inches broad.

All the old copies being so faulty, and SÄVE not having left one line of help, what are we to do? We may at all events remark that the old transcribers quietly *forged* the UAR in KUPA UAR MUPIR, because it appeared necessary that the word *must* be UAR. Secondly, we may as well try to read so much of the risting as is decently legible, about one half of the whole. If the good men of old had only taken a couple of paper casts of each stone (cost, some öres), we should now be able to decipher most of the old blocks now partly illegible or altogether lost. People gave and give what they saw or see, often things extravagant enough. *Only the cast* can control the eye of the copyist. Where the letters are so worn and weak that we can get no useful impression, then and only then can the cast be dispensed with.

We observe, then, that there are 2 marks for S, ʒ and ʀ. — Next, in a long inscription we must have a nominative, a verb and an accusative. Here the accusative, STIN PINO, is plain. The first word is therefore the nominative, and the verb must be between. But what was the first word? I do not know. All the transcripts are confused. Is the mark at the extreme left a beginning-sign, a cross or something such, or is it a rune? The next letters seem to be TRIUI, possibly a name compounded with TRI (TRÅ). If not, adding the first mark, the name was perhaps ATRIUI. — The next group must be the verb, perhaps originally RISI (= RISTI) *raised*, or RITI, *wrote*. — The AT KUPBIURNA seems clear. But, if so, KUPBIURNA is an antique accusative. — Then BRUITRSII or BURITRSII, but more probably BRUPUR SIN, as in LILJEGREN. — Some runes follow, of which I can make nothing. They would seem to speak of KUPBIURN as being something I MANAIM, apparently a place-name. There was a MANSHEIMS-HERAD, and therefore a MAN or MANS HAIM, in Norway, and there may have been a MANHAIM elsewhere. — The rest of the line seems to me ruined and meaningless.

Now the line below. The UAR in Bautil is not on the stone. Bautil has KUNI UAR MUPIR, BURE KUNA UA MUPIR, SÄVE KUTI UA MUPIR. But no KUNI or KUNA or KUTI has been spoken of before, and there is no divisional mark between UA and M. It would seem,

therefore, that this line gives us the names of the rune-carvers, often exprest exactly as here.

Under the cross. Another »twisting» in GÖRANSSON, who has KUPMUNTRI. The stone has not this. BURE gives KUPMANTRO, SÄVE quite plainly KUPMANTEO, which I take to be correct, an archaic dative.

The short band in GÖRANSSON reads PRUKURI, in BURE PRUKUIL, in SÄVE apparently PRUKNATI, which gives a good and not uncommon wordfall.

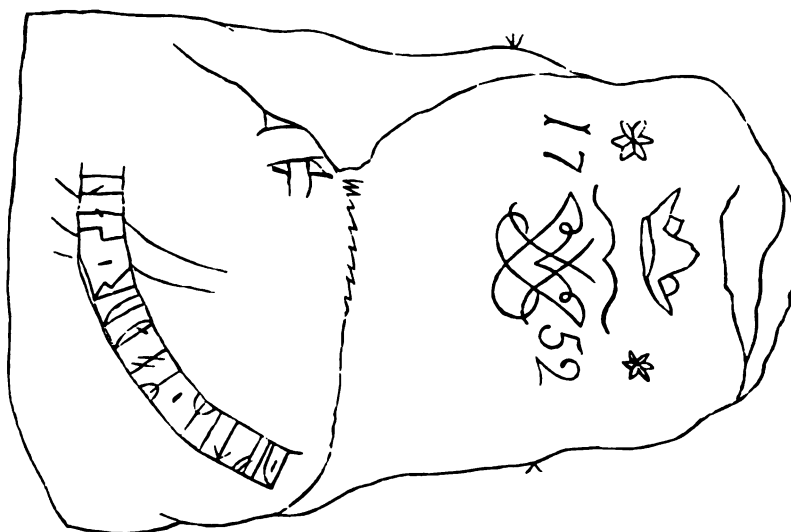
I would propose then, as *perhaps* on the stone:

TRIUI (RISI) STIN PINO AT KUPBIURNA, BRUPUR SIN I
MANAIM. IS KUPMANTEO PRUKNATI . KUTI, UAMUP, PIR IUUKU
(run-rit).

TRIUI (RAISED) STONE THIS AT (to) KUTHBIURN, BROTHER
SIN (his) (her), IN MANAIM, AS (who) with-KUTHMUNT
DROWNED (was shipwreckt, was drowned) . KUTI and-UAMUTH THEY HEWED
(cut, inscribed) (this rune-writing).

This attempt, however imperfect, may perhaps help others to a better.

HADE, or HADEHOLM, GESTRIKLAND.



I cannot find any notice of this slab elsewhere, and copy it from SÄVE's pencil-sketch, dated 16 Sept. 1851, in his Note-book p. 25. He remarks that he found it in Hedesunda Parish (Socken), that it was of red sandstone, was 3½ feet above ground and about 3 feet broad. Most

of the inscription had been smoothed off, to make way for something new, and the piece had thus been made into a public monument or a kind of mile-stone, as we see by the crown and date and monogram. This last, says SÄVE, is that of FREDRIK ULRIK INSENSTJERNA, owner of Gysinge and Hadeholm, and Lord-lieutenant (Landshöfding) in Vesterås 1763. He was born in 1723 and died in 1768. SÄVE has left no reading.

The whole inscription has probably been more or less to the following effect:

(..... raisti stin þina ùiftir kunu seni, uk) ÛIFTIR MOÞUR SENI¹).

(..... raised stone this after quean (wife) sin (his), eke)
AFTER MOTHER SIN(? his).

The grave-stone was therefore raised by a husband to his departed wife, the Son (or Daughter) joining in this act of piety to his (her) mother.

Thus I have come to the end of these memorials. They are, as we see, only »disjecta membra». But they are such as my old friend CARL SÄVE left them. Want of health and opportunity prevented a second visit and more careful drawings and paper casts and the final text and translation and comment, ready for the press. But even so, such as they are, they are of great value, and are yet another gift by this lamented Swedish Scholar towards the right study of his fatherland's monuments and folk-talks. I have done the best I could with the scanty materials at my disposal, anxious that they should not entirely perish or be ignobly overlookt. This my anxiety must plead my excuse for my inability to do them full justice. And at least I may hope that these pages may in some degree, however small, help on the *Rune-lore* of our common Northland, that our oldest national Speech-field in which CARL SÄVE workt so early so long and so well, and in which he gained his well-earned title²):

MAÞR RUNSTR.

¹) At p. 184 of «K. Vitt.-, Hist.- och Ant.-Akademiens Månadsblad» for 1874 Dr. H. HILDEBRAND says that the Stockholm Acad. of Ant. has a drawing of this stone by Lector C. F. WIBERG in 1865, and that according to this it bears ÛIFTIR MOÞUR SIN, while Dr. H. himself (? in 1874) found the inscription to be ÛIFTIR MOÞUR SINA. Here we have only 3 words, yet all 3 copiers have read them differently! Which is right?

²) See the inscription on No. 18 of the Maeshowe stones, Orkney, in Old-Northern Run. Mon. vol. I, p. 238: MAN RUNEST (most rune-skilled).

APPENDIX.

*inscr. - Runic
Hälsingland, Sweden.*
THE FORSA RING

IN HELSINGLAND, SWEDEN.

It is now more than a dozen years ago, when real Runology was so young and we were all so inexperienced in this new archæological-philological science, that I hastily worked out my short paper¹⁾ on the Forsa Ring. This remarkable piece, on whose iron surface a cunning rune-smith has punched-in 245 staves, I had never seen, nor have I to this day. But it had been examined and carefully copied by Prof. CARL SÄVE, at that time the greatest living Runologist. The only transcript that could come into competition with his, was that by ARENDT (1806). But it is no secret that all the older runic drawings are usually more or less doubtful, often lamentably incorrect, and the general excellence of ARENDT's work was then not suspected²⁾. No authority was at that time equal to SÄVE's as a *working* runologist, one used to handling real stones and other runic old-laves, not mere *printed* copies. I therefore adopted SÄVE's text. Just so now with SOPHUS BUGE. He has become an illustrious rune-man, and *has worked on the Ring itself*. So I now follow him loyally and blindly, as I then did SÄVE. And this the more as, in his treatment and translation, he of course has the advantage of building on all who have gone before, making use of their good »hits» and avoiding their mistakes, as every wise man man does.

Not only has Prof. BUGE shown that there were some serious errors (no fewer than 10) in the copy I followed (SÄVE's³⁾), but I went on a false principle, that the Ring was a *heathen* relic. This was the universal belief then, and misled me. BUGE has made it clear that this

¹⁾ The Old-Northern Runic Monuments of Scandinavia and England. 2 vols, folio. See vol. 2, pp. 684—9.

²⁾ ARENDT's drawing of the Ring is so good that, as compared with Prof. BUGE's, it has only 3 faults.

³⁾ SÄVE could only give some *few hours* to the Ring, as it hung on the door, and had then never seen ARENDT's beautiful copy. BUGE had the Ring for *many days in his own hands*, and was familiar with ARENDT's drawing.

is a mistake, that the piece is *Christian*. Hence my translation in many places falls away of itself, and BUGGE's takes its place.

For in Sept. 1877 appeared BUGGE's 4to essay¹⁾ on this iron roundle, with a separate facsimile of the runes drawn and lithographt full size by Mr. C. F. LINDBERG. The first key to the whole more mysterious section was my identification of the word LIUPRIT(I). The next was Prof. OLAF RYGH's excellent idea that AKU could only be = ÅGU, *own, have*. The third was Prof. BUGGE's admirable LIRPIR, thus stamping the whole as *Christian* and enabling him so to use his great learning and ingenuity as substantially to solve this difficult problem. In this he was also assisted by the accident of his being a Norwegian, for his philological instinct has recognized in certain things in the risting *traces of Old-Norse peculiarities*, explained by the fact, also pointed out by BUGGE, that the folk-speech of olden Helsingland had some features in common with Old-Norse. Thus, on the whole, his version is in my opinion triumphantly happy and probable. Hard points will always remain, and I differ from him as to some words; but in general we must, I believe, undoubtedly follow him in his construction and translation. All honor to him for this his latest and ripest gift to Northern linguistic science!

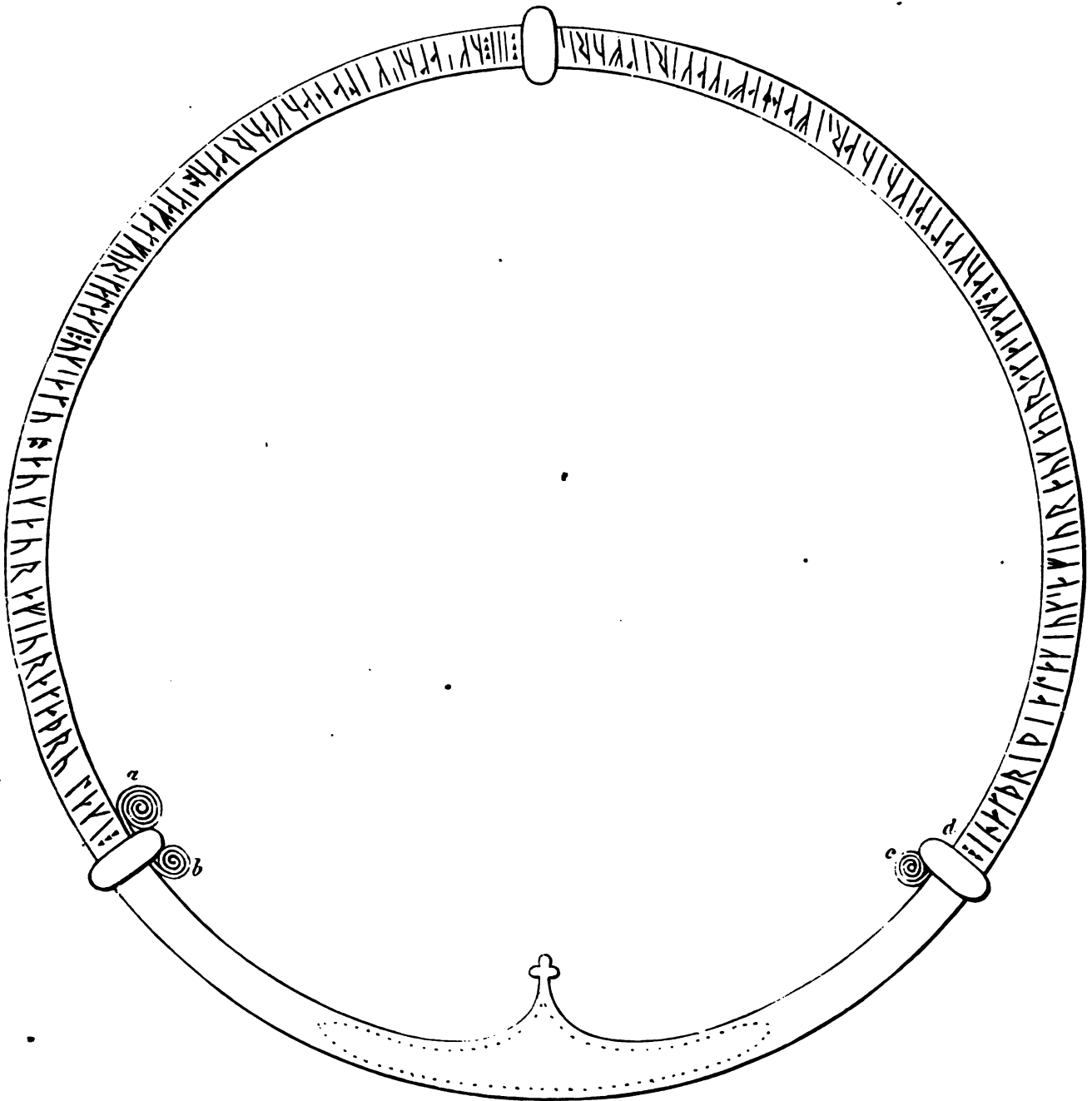
CARL SÄVE made his drawings on the 4th and 5th of Sept. 1851. They were engraved by me in my work. He himself never attempted or publisht any translation. I therefore here repeat my 2 engravings of the Ring, but I have had the runes *CORRECTED according to the copy given us by BUGGE*²⁾. I add my own *new* version, chiefly based, as I shall show, upon BUGGE's, where he differs from my former text (for in some things we of course all agree), but offering some changes, perhaps rectifications, of his reading. — Otherwise, for further details, I refer to my vol. 2 p. 684, and to BUGGE's exhaustive paper.

As we see, following BUGGE's corrected text, the runes are:

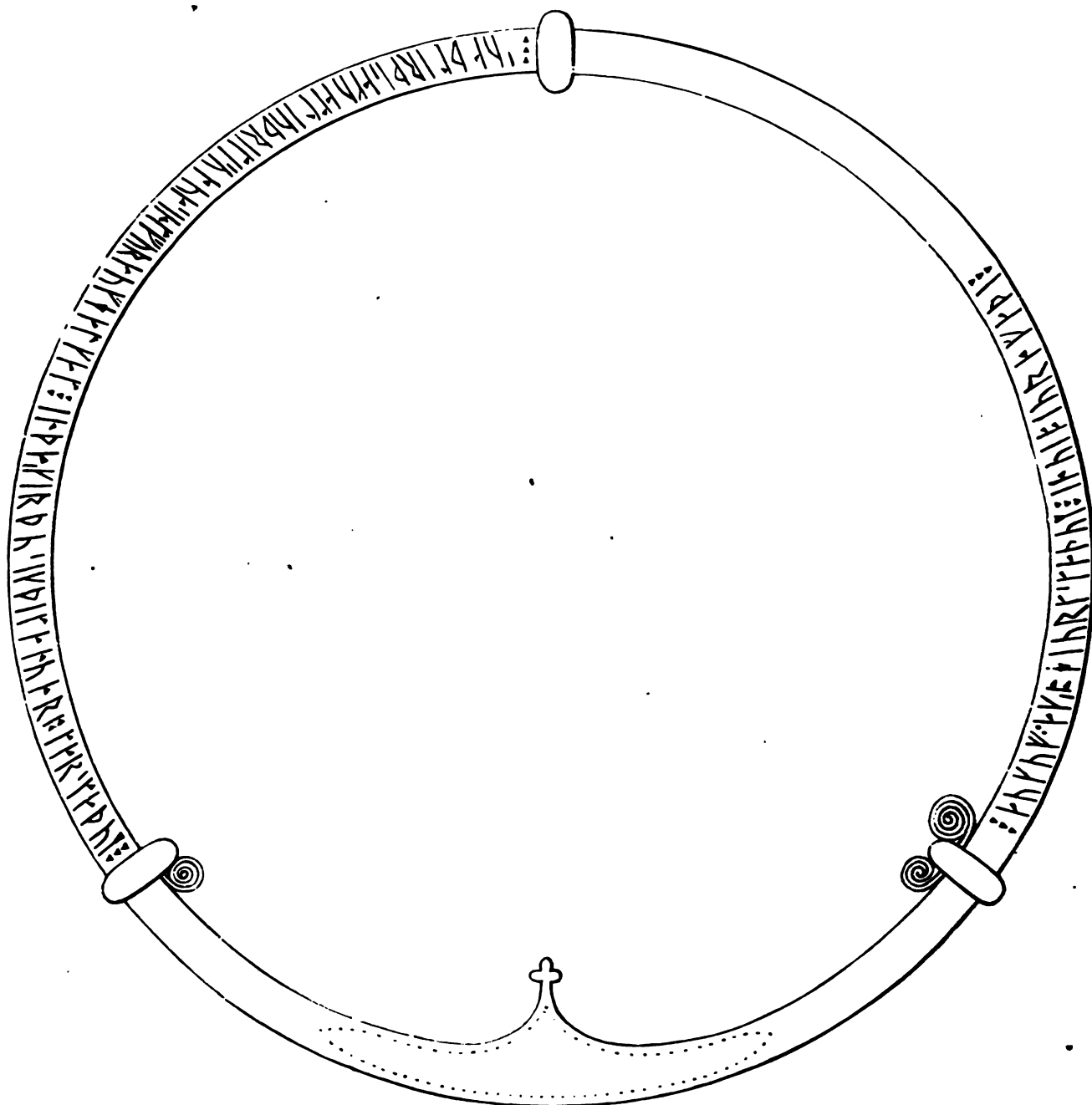
¹⁾ »Rune-Indskriften paa Ringen i Forsa Kirke i Nordre Helsingland». Christiania 1877. 58 pages, with plate.

²⁾ On these 2 blocks the runes (likę as the Ring itself) are only 2-thirds of the full size, and they are sometimes more stiff than in BUGGE's lithograph, to which therefore, in this respect, I refer for minutiae.

FRONT OF THE RING.



:::: UKSATUISKILANAUKAURATUOSTAFATFURSTALAKI
 : UKSATUOAUKAURAFIURATAÞRULAKI:
 : INATÞRIÞIALAKIUKSAFIURAUKAURATASTAF
 : AUKALTAIKUIUAR RIFANHAFSKAKIRITFURI R

BACK OF THE RING:

:SUAPLIRPIRAKUATLIUPRITISUAUASINTFURAUKHALKAT
 :INPARKIRPUSIKPITANUNROTARSTAPUM:
 :AUKUFAKROHIURTSTAPUM:INUIBIURNFAPİ:

These staves I now divide and interpret as follows:

1. UKSA, ac. s. m. *An Ox, one Ox.*

TUIS-KILAN (= TUIS-GILLAN), ac. s. m. *TWICE-GILD, full-grown and strong, worth 2 common beasts.* Thus I here follow BROCMAN, LILJEGREN, RYDQUIST and BUGGE, and banish our friend the god TU (TY, TYR), who appeared here in my first version. Cannot help it. Peace be with him!

AUK, *EKE, and.*

AURA, ac. pl. m. *ORES, ounces of silver.*

TUO, ac. pl. m. *TWO.* I again must object to BUGGE's fancy of transliterating the plain rune for O by *ǫ* (which he makes to be a kind of *nasal A*). The rune for A must be given by A, the stave for O by O, however we may *theorize* (often, as here, unfoundedly) as to the pronunciation of this or any other letter in certain cases. All who like may accept BUGGE's theories. I and most others decidedly reject them. But he has quite simply no right to bolster them up altering the runic values of any letter.

STAF A, inf. (*One shall*) *STAVE, fix as with a stroke of the Judge's staff, decree, levy as a mulct, demand as a fine.* I take STAF A here to be the usual N. I. verb so frequently employed for — to ordain, fix, determine, sentence to any fine or punishment *even death itself.* As BUGGE truly says, this is perhaps the hardest word in the whole risting. I now divide STAFAT as STAF A_—AT. BUGGE thinks this is inadmissible, as, in the next place where it occurs, there are 3 points between the F and the following A. But there are hundreds of examples on our runic pieces of much greater freedoms than this, so necessary was it to spare space or hard cutting-labor or both. And, when the rune-stamper came to the other place

ATASTAF : AUKALT

how was he to proceed? If he had written

ATASTAF A : UKALT

it would have been much harsher and more unintelligible. Including the twice-taken but once cut L in TUISKILAN, there are 8 letters thus twice redd in the usual runic way on this roundel. The whole sentence is undoubtedly in the accusative, and I take STAF A to be the governing verb (with the indefinite *man must* or *one shall* understood as the nominative, a construction so very common in our old tungs). BUGGE divides STAF AT FURSTA, and takes STAF to be a hitherto unknown word meaning *a fast* (fast as a staff) *sum or norm or fine or mulct.* STAF, with him, is therefore a second accusative, in apposition with UKSA —

TUO, and he gets his verb by supposing an understood *One shall pay* — an idiom too hard and harsh to be approved.

AT, prep. gov. dat. *AT*.

FURSTA, d. s. n. sup. *The-FIRST*.

LAKI (= LAGI), d. s. n. *LAY*, *rate or tax or share or price laid on, levy*, here *tithe-rate, tithing*. This is one well-known sense of the word, all whose many meanings fall back on the primitive *LAY, LAYER, place where or manner how things are laid*. I am not aware that it has ever meant *time*, as DIETERICH and BUGGE will. The constructions noted by BUGGE stand for *way, manner*, not *time*. But even if the word ever had been exceptionally used for *time*, this would be a very meagre sense here. And besides, I know of no example of this expression (*time*) with AT. There are all (not in the sense of *time*) with the preposition I. Therefore, *unpaid rating, the year's tithe-rate not yet sent in*. Thus:

One-Ox TWICE-GILD (worth 2 simple ones) EKE ORES TWO to-STAVE (shall one stave out, pay out, as a fine) AT the-FIRST LAY (for the first year's unpaid tithe-rate).

2. UKSA TUO AUK AURA, as before.

FIURA (the vowel doubled, FIURAT = FIURA_AT), ac. pl. m. *FOUR*. — AT, as before.

APRU, d. s. n. *The-OTHER, the second*. — LAKI, as before. Thus: *OXEN TWO EKE (and) ORES FOUR AT the-OTHER LAY (unpaid levy)*.

3. IN, adv. *IN, AN, but*. — AT, as before.

ÞRIÞIA, d. s. n. *The-THIRD*. — LAKI, as before. — UKSA FIURA AUK (FIURAU = FIURA_AUK), as before. — AURA (AURATA = AURA_ATA), as before.

ATA, ac. pl. m. *EIGHT*. — STAFA (STAFAK = STAFA_AUK), as before. Thus:

IN (but) AT the-THIRD LAY (unpaid levy) OXEN FOUR EKE ORES EIGHT shall-one-STAVE (seize as a penalty).

4. AUK, as before.

ALT, n. s. n. *ALL, the whole*.

AIKU, g. s. f. (BUGGE). Of-AGÉ (O.-E.); EIGA (O.-N.); AIGA (Gotl.); EGHIA (O.-Swed.), *ownings, property, substance, possessions*.

I, prep. abs. (BUGGE). *IN, in it, therein, in that case, with regard thereto*. A Norwegianism.

UARR, 3 s. pr. (BUGGE, with elision of Þ, = UARÞR = UÆRÞR - UERÞR - UIRÞR), *WORTH to be there, becomes to be there, is lost, is forfeited*. A Norwegianism. — This is, in my opinion, correct and very ingenious. But it is so violent, in the eyes of the modern mechanical-

phonological school, that if *I* had proposed it, I should have been excommunicated at once, as I have so often been for many such things, now silently »annext» and admitted and used as true linguistic facts. I myself have repeatedly pointed out the many floating dialectic sounds, the frequent slurrings of the **þ**, and the striking interchanges of A and I on our monuments.

IF, adv. (BUGGE). *IF*. This word was once, in various forms, quite common in Old-Scandinavian as in English.

AN, n. s. m. *HE*, *the-tithe-refuser*. BUGGE takes the word here as AN, but makes it equivalent to *IN*, *ÆN*, *yet, still further*. In this I cannot follow him. We have this *IN*, *but, yet*, in 3 other places on this Ring, and it is always *IN*, never *AN*. Nothing is a more common dialectic usage, old and new, than for H to be added or omitted, and there are *hundreds* of runic and parchment AN for HAN. We have the same thing ververst in the next word, by BUGGE's own showing, HAFSKAKI for AFSKAKI. There can be little doubt therefore that this AN is the frequent AN for HAN, *HE*, which the sense also requires.

HAFSKAKI (= AFSKAKI), 3 s. pr. subj. *Should-OFF-SHAKE*, *altogether shake off, entirely refuse*. BUGGE makes this the word here, but looks upon it as standing for AFSKAKKI, which he would translate, *twist, make unequal, cut off or away, and thus not give so largely as one ought*. I think the word quite a different one, and the meaning as demanded by the context very much stronger, *absolutely refuse*, after 3 notices, 3 warnings, 3 fines for non-payment. *Not to pay fully*, thus deduced from (H)AFSKAKKA, is also terribly forced, and is quite unsupported. But (H)AF-SKAKA to *OFF-SHAKE, SHAKE OFF, entirely ignore and get rid of*, has been a common word and idiom in all our dialects from the beginning, and is so still.

RIT, ac. s. m. (So BUGGE). I had taken it, less correctly, as an adverb. *RIGHT, laic*, the just claim of Holy Church.

FURIR, prep. gov. ac. *FORE, beFORE, opposite to, contrary to*. This meaning, a Norwegianism, is another of BUGGE's »happy inspirations».

SUA (SUAP = SUA_ AP), rel. pron. ac. sing. indecl. (BUGGE). *SO, that*.

AP, rel. pron. ac. s. indecl. (BUGGE). *AT, THAT, which*. BUGGE parallels this SUA AT, SUAT, SUAP, by ÞUI AT, ÞUIT, ÞUIP.

LIRÞIR, n. pl. m. (BUGGE). A decisive and admirable identification, the well known epithet given to the Clergy (O.-E. LÆRDE), especially in Scandinavia. In Old-Swedish, also BOK-LÆRÐIR MÆN and KLÆR-

KÆR. Thus the *LEARNED*, the *Priests*, *Ecclesiastics*, *Holy Church*, in contrast to LAY MEN, LEWD MEN.

AKU (= ÅGU, ÅGHU, ÆGHU), 3 pl. pres. (Prof. OL. RYGH and S. BUGGE). *OWE*, *own*, *have*, *possess*, *rightly enjoy*. Icel. EIGU.

AT, prep. gov. d. (BUGGE). *AT*, *by*, *in accordance with*.

LIUÞRITI, d. s. m. (BUGGE rightly adds the last I). *LEDE-RIGHT*, O.-E. *LEODRIHT*, *Folk-right*, *Folk-law*, as I pointed out. BUGGE proves that the N.-I. LYRITR is the same word, only with the Þ elided.

SUA, rel. pr. n. s. m. (BUGGE). *SO*, *as*, *which*.

UAS, 3 s. pret. (BUGGE). *WAS*.

INT, p.p. n. s. n. (BUGGE). *Carried IN*, *proclaimed IN* the folk-moot, *publicly enacted and announced*.

FUR, adv. (BUGGE). *FORE*, *beFORE*. — AUK, as before.

HALKAT, p.p. n. s. n. (BUGGE). *HALLOWED*, *set apart*, *specially allotted*, *fixt*. Thus:

EKE ALL of-AGÉ (his property) IN-it (therein) WORTH-is-to-lie (is lost) IF HE OFF-SHAKE (should finally refuse) RIGHT (just payment) FORE (against) SO-AT (that which) the -LEARNED (the Clergy) OWN (have) AT (by) LEDE-RIGHT (folk-law), SO (as) WAS INNED (proclaimed) FORE (before) EKE (and) HALLOWED (fixt, solemnly enacted).

We have seen that in this sentence FURIR is taken by BUGGE himself to be a preposition governing the following SUA. And yet the two words are separated by a *divisional stop or ornament* (:); another proof, to the many we have before, of the frequent insignificance of such marks in the construction of the language. See what I have said above about STAFÄ.

5. IN, *but*, as before.

ÞAR, n. pl. m. *THEY*, the persons to be named, those or these men, namely ANUND and UFAG. We have hundreds of such instances, variously spelt. Confining ourselves to runic pieces and to those which have the Þ and the end-R, we have ÞÆIR, ÞÆR, ÞAIR (the commonest form, nearly 100 examples), ÞAIRR, ÞAR (7 stones), ÞAUR, ÞAÛR, ÞEIR, ÞER, ÞLÆIR, ÞIR (the next commonest form), ÞOIR. — Prof. BUGGE takes this ÞAR to be the adverb *THERE*, and makes it bear the meaning *HERE*, *on this ring*.

KIRÞU (= GIRÞU), 3 pl. p. *GARED*, *made*; probably here, as so very often, equivalent to *let make*, *ordered to be made*.

SIK, refl. pr. d. pl. *For-themselves*. Instead of the older SER, SIR. The reflective pronoun gen. SÍN, dat. SÉR, ac. SIK, died out so early in England that no example has yet been found. But it doubtless once existed, as it is known in all the Scando-Gothic languages.

ÞITA, ac. s. n. *THIS*, this piece, this ring. — ÞITANUNR = ÞITA-ANUNR.

ANUNR, n. s. The common mansname *AN-UND* (the Þ slurred).

O, prep. gov. dat. *ON*, *of*, *at*, the N now nasalized.

TARSTAPUM, d. pl. m. *TARSTATH*. BUGGE says that this village is now called TÅSTAD, in Hög Parish (Söcken), and is $\frac{5}{8}$ of a Swedish mile from Forsa Church. — AUK, as before.

UFAKR, n. s. The not uncommon olden mansname UFAG. Spelt in many ways on the monuments, also, (the N not yet nasalized) UN-FAIKR (Stärkeby, Upland). — O, as before.

HIURTSTAPUM, d. pl. m. (BUGGE). *HIURTSTATH*. BUGGE fixes the place at HJORSTA, in Hög Parish, $\frac{5}{8}$ of a Sw. mile from Forsa. It would be HARTSTED in English. Thus:

IN (but) THEY GARED THEMSELVES THIS, ANUN ON (of) TARSTATH EKE UFAK ON HIURTSTATH.

6. IN (but). — UIBIURN, n. s. Mansname; common.

FAPÍ, 3 s. p. *FAWED* (*executed*). Of course no earthly man can know whether FAPÍ here refers to the Ring AND the Runes, as I have said, or to the *Runes alone* as Prof. BUGGE thinks. It is most unlikely that the 2 wealthy landholders unitedly made the roundel *with their own hands*. It was probably made at their request and for their money, *in the usual way*, by some skilled artificer, a class often mentioned on the monuments as SMÍPR. We know that such words as RAISTI (sing.) RAISTU (plur.) and LIT RAISA (s.) LITU RAISA (pl.), GARPI (s.) GARPU (pl.) and LIT GIRA (s.) LITU GIRA (pl.) etc. etc. are used almost promiscuously, and doubtless often with the same signification. The actual stone would usually be sought for and transported, the grave-how raised, the stone or stones set up — all which would usually be several days' hard work — by some one accustomed to the business and who had regular helpers, all which would be *paid for*. Where, as frequently, a Mother or Wife or Widow or Sister or Daughter is the raiser, it is *certain* that she did not do this herself. Sometimes it would be one of the family or a friendly neighbor; but usually, rich people, then as now, *bought* the services of others. With the runes it was different. We have too many instances of the direct assertion that the lamenting father or son or friend, cut the runes, to doubt that it was often so, for this would indeed be a labor of love. But here also, as we know, others were employed, and the names of some have come down to us who were clearly regular professional stone-cutters. And this would sometimes be

necessary also from the elegant and complicated patterns used, which it was not in every body's power to accomplish.

And so of this FAPI, one of the many words employed for MADE and for CUT, and which is several times found on things bearing Old-Northern staves. Usually it is N. SATI (s.) or N. N. SATU (pl.) followed by N. FAPI. Now we have, as the whole risting, N. FAPI AT N., where the dear friend *was also* the rune-cutter. Now we have the full N. SATI followed by N. FAPI RUNAR ÞISAR. Sometimes it plainly means *the whole piece, runes and all*, as on the Church-door at Väfversunda, East Gotland, ASMUNTER FAPI TYR ÞASAR, and Jättendal, Helsingland, where N. N. SATU but N. FAPI STIN ÞINA. Pieces with the Old-Northern staves are still more decisive. On the Norse Einang stone, N. RUNO FÆIHIDO, it means *inscribed*; as it does on the English Alnmouth stone, FEGDE contrasted with WORHTE; while on the Ruthwell Cross it means (ME FAUCĒPO) *composed the poem there cut*. But on Bracteates 49 and 49 b, FIHÆDU, it signifies *made this piece and stamp these runes*, as it does on Bracteate 89, FÆÆPÆ. On the Norse Charnay Brooch it means, FYPÆI, *made and inscribed*, as it does on the English Osthofen Fibula, FUPE. So on non-runic pieces. On the English St. Edmund's Coin, N. MI FIET, it is *coined and stamp*, while on the English palimpsest block at Lincoln it, FIET, signifies the *enlarging of the Steeple* (EIRTIGN) of the Church. — Thus I see no reason for altering my opinion, that FAPI here means: FAWED (*made this Ring and stamp these runes*). Thus:

IN (but) UIBIURN FAWED.

The whole then will be, in freer and modernized language:

1. ONE FIRST-RATE OX AND TWO OUNCES-of-silver SHALL BE THE FINE FOR NON-PAYMENT-of-tithe, WHEN THE FIRST tithe-LEVY IS MADE.
2. TWO SUCH OXEN AND FOUR OUNCES FOR NON-PAYMENT OF THE SECOND YEAR'S RATE.
3. BUT FOR THE THIRD unpaid-tithe-LEVY, FOUR SUCH OXEN AND EIGHT OUNCES SHALL BE THE MULCT.
4. AND ALL THE DEFAULTER'S PROPERTY IS FORFEITED, IF HE ALTOGETHER REFUSE HIS LEGAL-tithe-rate, CONTRARY TO WHAT THE CLERGY CLAIM BY OUR FOLK-LAW, AS WAS BEFORE PUBLISHT AND FIXT.
5. BUT THESE had-THIS-ring MADE FOR THEMSELVES, NAMELY, ANUND OF TARSTAD AND UFAG OF HIURTSTAD.
6. BUT UIBIURN MADE (THIS RING AND STAMPT THESE RUNES).

ANUND and UFAG, the two powerful Thanes here mentioned, were doubtless the two *Churchwardens*, called in the Old-Swedish Provincial Laws KIRKIU-DROTNA(R) or KIRKIU-WÆRLÆNDÆ(R). The West-Gotland Law (SCHLYTER, p. 104) says:

Twer skulu kirkiu drotna uæra | *Two shall the-Church-drihtens ware (be).*

As such, and as both probably large proprietors and zealous Christians, it would be their wish and duty to stand by their priest and their church, and see that the tithes (to Bishop, Priest and Parish, or however else divided) were not kept back. They might therefore well take an opportunity of placing on the Church-door, in an alphabet and a tung understood by all the parishioners, *the kernel* of that legal enactment which secured to the clergy their full right of tithe, a right which had already been gradually introduced into the Swedish folklands. Prof. K. MAURER (BUGGE p. 43) thinks these two landholders may have been patrons or owners of the church. *One* may have so been. I doubt whether such foundationship and ownership would have been in 2 hands.

With regard to the Act itself, Prof. BUGGE (p. 43) reminds us that by the Norwegian Elder Eidsiva Church-law (Norges Gamle Love, I, 386): »He who neglects to discharge his tithe for 12 months, shall pay 3 marks; the second year he so refuses, 6 marks; and the third year, 9 marks. Then shall the Bishop's deputy summons him to pay within 5 days; if he has not then done so, he has forfeited his frith (peace) and all his property.» Also by the Norse Frosteting Code (Norges Gamle Love I, 137): «The fourth year, he has lost his frith and his goods.»

I here add Prof. BUGGE's free paraphrase (p. 26):

A TWO-GILD OX AND 2 ORES (SHALL ONE PAY) AS FAST AMOUNT THE FIRST TIME: 2 OXEN AND 4 ORES THE SECOND TIME: BUT THE THIRD TIME 4 OXEN AND 8 ORES AS FAST AMOUNT: AND ALL OF ONE'S PROPERTY ONE FORFEITS, IF ONE THEREAFTER CROOKEDLY CUTS OFF RIGHT (= OMITS FULLY TO PAY WHAT ONE IS BOUND TO PAY) THUS SETTING ASIDE WHAT BELONGS TO THE CLERGY ACCORDING TO THE LAW OF THE LAND: THIS WAS BEFORE NAMED AND UNBROKENLY FIXT. BUT THERE (ON THIS RING) MADE ANUND OF TAASTAD AND UFEG OF HJORTSTAD TO THEMSELVES THIS: BUT VIBJØRN WROTE THE RUNES¹⁾.

¹⁾ »En tvegild Okse og 2 Ører (skal man erlægge) som fast Beløb første Gang: 2 Okser og 4 Ører anden Gang: men tredje Gang 4 Okser og 8 Ører som fast Beløb: og alt af Eiendom fortaber man, hvis man fremdeles skjævt afskjærer Ret (d. e. undlader fuldt ud at yde hvad der er Ens Pligt at yde) med Tilsidesættelse af hvad der tilkommer de Geistlige efter Landets Lov: dette var forhen nævnt og ubrødelig fast-

Prof. BUGGE (p. 51) fixes the date of this piece at about 1150, or between 1150 and 1200, which all the circumstances render likely.

I refer to him for other details, an enquiry when Tithes were introduced into Scandinavia and especially into Helsingland, a list of certain words in olden Helsingland probably connected with old Norwegian, an examination of the term LIUPRITR with the remarks of Prof. K. MAURER thereon, etc.

He winds up by remarking (p. 53) that this Ring is the oldest extant Legal Document yet discovered in Scandinavia.

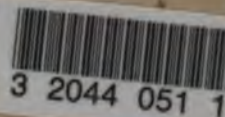
In conclusion I beg to add that my friend Amanuensis P. J. LINDAL has, with his usual kindness, superintended the passing of these pages thro the press in Upsala. In this way they are, I trust, more or less free from misprints. For this, and all his other favors, I beg to give him my hearty thanks.

Cheapinghaven, Denmark, in March 1878.

G. S.

sat. Men der (d. e. paa denne Ring) gjorde Anund paa Taastad og Ufeg paa Hjortstad sig dette: men Vibjorn skrev Runerne.»

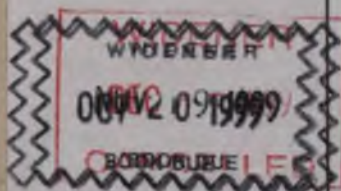
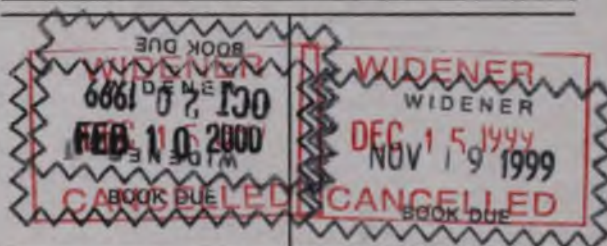




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